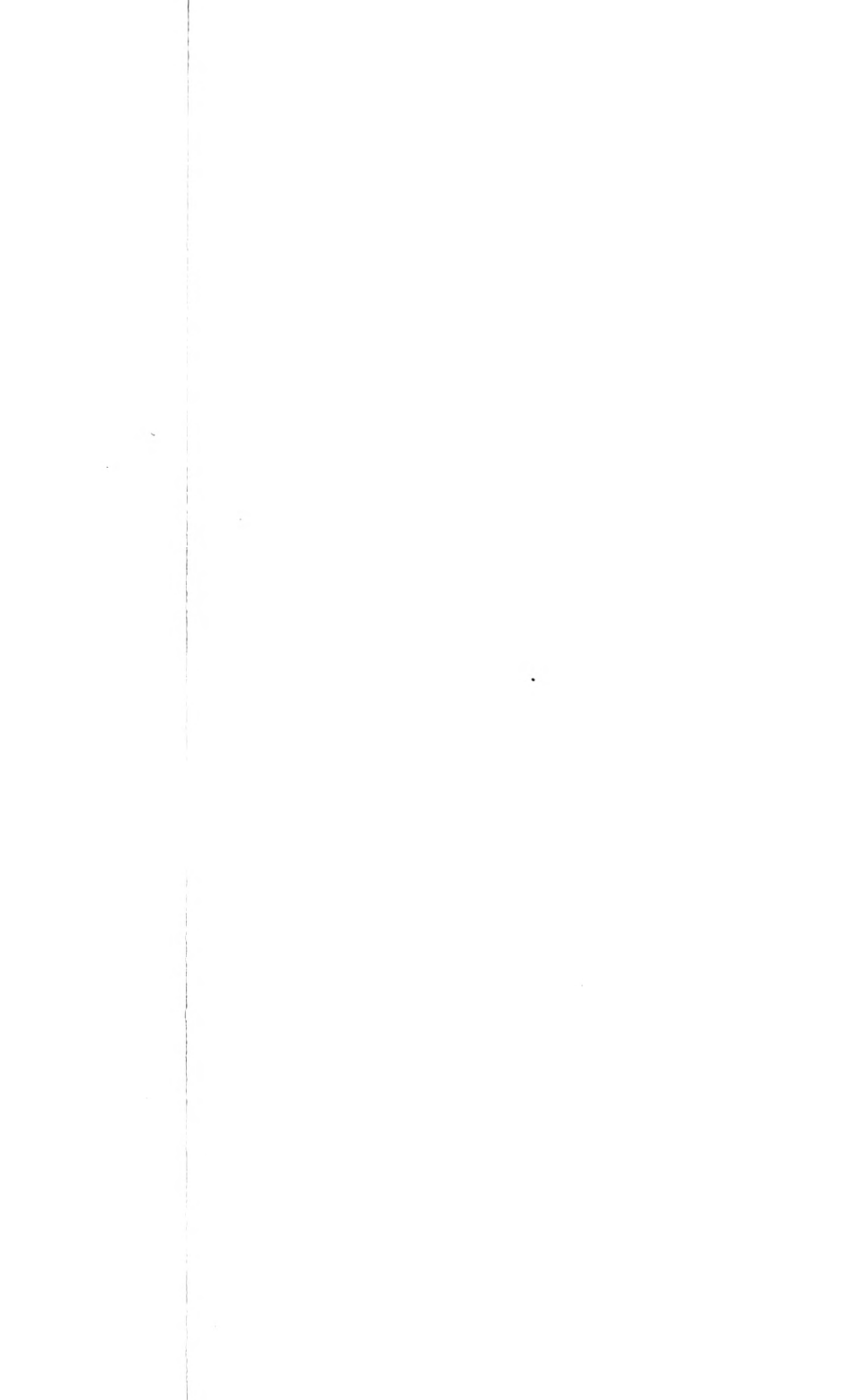






APOLLONIUS OF TYANA





A SKETCH OF THE LIFE
OF
APOLLONIUS OF TYANA
OR THE
FIRST TEN DECADES OF OUR ERA

BY
DANIEL M. TREDWELL

“Ἡ σοφία πύργη διὰ βιβλίων ῥέει.”
— *Old Adige*



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PREFATORY CHAPTER.

THE PRETEXT, THE PURPOSE, AND THE METHOD.

“IT is a custom too much observed even among Christian teachers to extol the traditionary virtues of Zoroaster, Confucius, Christna, and Buddha to the prejudice of our Blessed Redeemer.¹ There is nothing in these allegorical biographies which rises in sublimity to the miracles of our Lord or the simplicity of his life. Nor are they entitled to equal considera-

¹ Moncure D. Conway, M. A., in *Modern Thought*, says: “The world has been for a long time engaged in writing lives of Jesus. In the fourth gospel it is said, ‘There are also many other things that Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen.’ The library of such books has grown since then. But when we come to examine them one startling fact con-

fronts us: all of these books relate to a personage concerning whom there does not exist a single scrap of contemporary information—not one! By accepted tradition he was born in the reign of Augustus, the great literary age of the nation of which he was a subject. In the Augustan Age historians flourished; poets, orators, critics, and travelers abounded. Yet not one mentions even the name of Jesus Christ, much less any incident of his life. It is

tion as historical relations. They rest upon no such reliable substratum of history as the life and doctrines of Jesus. * * * And I here challenge any man to produce from the accumulated dust of eighteen centuries a record of the life, sayings, and doings of any personage so well attested and by so many reputable witnesses as is that of our Saviour in the account of Matthew."—*Brooklyn Clergyman*.

We refrain from giving the name of the author of the foregoing quoted words on the ground that he may deem it unfair to be put in a position not of his own seeking, where he may be called upon to defend an utterance made five years ago; and more especially as he has greatly modified his views on the subject of revelation.

We however accept the challenge, and not in a humor of bravado or conceit, nor as a contest for victory, but with a sincere desire to discover the truth.

The character which we have selected for this *experimentum crucis* is that of Apollonius of Tyana. He seems especially fitted for this ordeal, inasmuch as he is said to have been a contemporary of Jesus, born in

true that there are other great men who appear to have been overlooked or little noticed in contemporaneous literature. It is a matter of astonishment that from the Elizabethan Age we have so few contemporary notices of Shakespeare; yet that poet is mentioned by at least twenty of his contemporaries. Of Jesus we have not one notice, not the faintest, slightest sentence or word on which history can fix as certain evidence that he lived at all."

Charles Francis Dupuis, a celebrated French philosopher, in his *Origine de tous les Cultes*, A. D. 1794, vii. 358, has not hesitated to say that the fact of such a person as Jesus of Nazareth having ever existed is but a doubtful one, and that the account we have of the life of Christ should be altogether regarded as another allegory of the sun, more bungling than that of Osiris or Hercules.

the year *one* of our era. It is claimed that he was divinely conceived, and that he came with a revelation as the saviour of humanity. At all events, his written life is surrounded by a halo of miraculous phenomena almost identical with that recorded by Matthew in his gospel of Jesus Christ. And while Jesus is said to have been casting out devils in Galilee, Apollonius was, according to a tradition quite as trustworthy, rendering mankind a similar service in Greece. "The age," says the *Westminster Review*, January, 1882, page 3, "abounded in impostors arrogating to themselves the attributes and prerogatives of divine messengers, boasting themselves the vehicles of divine revelation, and fattening upon the superstition and credulity of the multitude who always believed in the last incarnation, and pronounced all antecedent pretenders impostors. The most celebrated of these was Apollonius of Tyana, who obtained a measure of success second only to that of Christ. He advocated a morality and virtue far in advance of the religious sentiments of his age."¹

Although from the very beginning of this inquiry to its final termination we have never regretted the undertaking,—for the pleasure of the pursuit has been intense, and our enthusiasm has never flagged,—yet we

¹ Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, says: "Apollonius of Tyana, at the close of the Flavian period, endeavored, with noble purpose, to unite moral teaching with religious practices; the oracles, which had long ceased, were partially restored under Antoninus.

The calamities and visible decline of the empire withdrew the minds of men from that proud patriotic worship of Roman greatness. It was this worship, imbued with the highest moral doctrines or stoicism, which Apollonius labored to restore."—*Lecky's Morals*, vol. i. p. 339.

must, in some confusion, confess that it was an unguarded moment when we took up the gauntlet, for from our point of view this subject (sacerdotalism and its contingents) has been wonderfully overvalued and overwrought by the greater intellects of the world, and that it has never furnished results to humanity commensurate with the mental outlay; the crafty ones cannot avoid confessing that we are reaping from this contention-strewn field of eighteen hundred years but an indifferent harvest; that in blood and treasures the gospel experiment has been a dearly bought and sterile luxury.

As to this unassuming volume, the compensation for the time and labor devoted to it has not been in the dethronement of the little fetich of the very learned divine who challenged to the combat, and who was forgotten on the very threshold of the work, and never again thought of during its progress, but in the substratum of historic and literary wealth which has been unearthed by the necessary subsoil process of the work; and in scientific issues and literary adventures extending beyond the compass of the subject; as well as the extension and broadening of the horizon of knowledge, all of which have been an impulsion, and have entered into the spirit of the book.

It is true, however, that we have by implication here arraigned for construction a written instrument (Matthew's gospel), which has arrogated to itself issues more important to mankind than all the instruments put upon trial for construction, legal or otherwise, since the foundation of courts having competent jurisdiction. And not only this gospel itself, but there are also

many specious and evasive issues involved by its apologists, all made significant only from the personal interest which has clustered about it (the gospel), and not from any primary importance to mankind, which are necessarily brought under the ban of this work.

The ingenious and interlarded fictions of Eusebius, Lardner, Renan, Strauss and Schenkel, which were pregnant with great promises of enlightenment, have done nothing save the entailment of vast complexities upon the subject. They have with consummate strategy always avoided the real question at issue, and led the army of earnest inquirers through devious and unfamiliar paths away from the direct road, until it has become infinitely a greater mental effort to recover the lost trail than to have originally solved the whole problem. Their biography of Jesus is, what they would have it, seen through the film of their ancestral and educational bias, rather than what it is from the record.

The superstructure of the biography of Apollonius, like that of Jesus, is upon miracle; the partisans of each lay claim to the supernatural, the logic and argument of which we deem unworthy of altercation by any zealous historian, no matter what their quality or the nature of their attestation. We do not mean to say that a miracle may not be sufficiently attested to entitle it to belief; but we do mean to say with Hume, "that no amount of testimony can make it true." We have read the wonderful miracles of Jesus and of Apollonius, and shall not demur to any vantage ground the partisans of either may feel that they have obtained from the assumption of their sublime pretensions. To

sustain ourselves, however, against the charge of disdainfully treating a subject so important, and so conclusive, professedly, to others, we have devoted an introductory chapter to our reasons for discarding all miraculous events from our history. Our reasons are by no means original or new; they have been common property of all thinking men and women for ages. Their logical arrangement may be somewhat novel, and may, in consequence of their new mountings, strike home with a force never before felt. Miracles, although more or less impertinent to our subject, would probably not have been thought of here had not John Henry Newman, D. D., in his *Life of Apollonius Tyaneus*, thought proper to supplement his work with a dissertation covering nearly fifty pages, on *The Miracles of Scripture*, drawing strong contrasts between them and those of Apollonius.

Now, as above stated, we do not deem our reasons or arguments entirely new; yet we shall consider it no compliment to be merely told that they are as new, as original, and as conclusive, as the faded arguments presented by John Henry Newman in favor of the Christ miracles and against all others.

Our only apology for this chapter on miracles is, that we have been seduced into the folly by the example and the vagaries of that great man.

From the reservoir of human experience we learn at least one great truth, that the succession of events is an endless chain of effects which are in their turn causes to new effects, all fully related and conditioned, and which constitute individually and collectively the sublimest truths in the universe. Buckle says: "Every

new fact is the necessary product of antecedent facts, and both providence and free will are delusions." We therefore make the demand, and think it a reasonable one, that the stupendous claim of departures in the sequence of the phenomenal world, or miracles, asserted upon the authority either of individual or of divine revelation, should be established upon tests correspondingly clear and free from doubt and possible fraud. How far sound reason may justify an acceptance of these phenomena and the testimony upon which they are presented for our acceptance as demonstrated and demonstrable truths, we hope may be made manifest by our method of analysis in this introduction.

Truth is defined by Lewes as "a correspondence in the order of ideas with the order of phenomena." More briefly we should say a conformity of thoughts with things, a conformity of that which is, to that which has been, and deductively to that which is to be.

To know how forces operated in the past and will operate in the future we must observe them to-day.

It was Descartes who first grappled determinedly with this great question, the substitution of fixed law for the "caprice of deity," but the conception antedated him. Finally Auguste Comte grasped the problem in its length, breadth, and height; he saw momentous practical issues to humanity involved in its proper solution. He also saw and comprehended the dangers of the evading and solvent forces of the metaphysical methods to which it was held captive, as well as the constructive value of a positive science; hence his positive philosophy and the establishment of his

religion of humanity. Mr. Mill, on reviewing Comte's theory,¹ says: "The transition is steadily proceeding from the metaphysical to the positive method of thought, which is destined finally to prevail by the recognition that all phenomena without exception are governed by invariable laws into which no violations either natural or supernatural intrude," and hence *truth*, the avowed purpose of the present inquiry, may be methodically recognized in its compliance with the laws of motion, gravity, conservation of energy and the canons of proof. Its antitheses are error and falsehood.

Now while the foregoing axiom is the substratum upon which rests all demonstrable science, there is nevertheless much irregularity introduced into the method of approach through an improper definition or comprehension of the distinction between error and falsehood; too frequently mistaking the one for the other. Error is the common prelude to truth, and may be the product of a formulated problem, falsehood never; it can have no premise. Error courts investigation; it is evanescent and fades away under the light of modern inductive science. Falsehood seeks exemption from every scientific régime, and recoils from the light and scrutiny of investigation, and, in default of conformity to immutable law, postulates its own canon, and sets up a claim to miraculous interposition; such is revelation. But error being formulated accedes to the discipline and conditions of the scientific ritual which it assimilates in its widening and progressive experiences; such is physical science. Nearly all the great truths

¹ *Système de Politique Positive, ou Religion de l'humanité*: par Auguste Comte. (Paris, 1851-54.)

of science stand out against a background of error; while no great truth is rooted in falsehood.

When Darwin sought the establishment of any great truth he discarded all elements except those founded in the order of nature and the soundest and most incontestable scientific induction.

For the establishment of new truths, as distinguished from the perpetuation of old falsehoods, in the historical as in the phenomenal world, the scientific method must be pursued regardless of all supernatural agencies; and to the extent that we increase our knowledge or amplify our storehouse of experiences, from all time past and present, to that extent shall we become potential to emancipate ourselves and our philosophy from the allegiance of all invisible and unknown powers and representatives. And in reviewing past experiences we shall discover that the physical and the known have gradually arrogated the realm of the spiritual and unknown. Every mysterious and unknown phenomenon explained scientifically and brought within the field of the known, is a victory for truth, a result which expels the mysterious and omnipotent out of just so much of the universe; for just so certain as light and truth penetrate the hidden recesses of phenomena, the lurking-places of the unknown and unknowable, just so certain God retires, and the consummation of all scientific truth will be the "last sad requiem of the Gods." "The omnipotence of God and a crucified Saviour," says Spinoza, "is the refuge of ignorance, and it is magnified in its mystery as a fog magnifies the sun." "The potentiality of the hand that unnerved Belshazzar lies in the fact that it was

attached to no body." "Every one truth," says the Duke of Argyle, "is connected with every other truth in the universe; there can be no two truths with antagonistic relations." Science and dogma may stipulate, but no truth will ever be the product of their united efforts. This is demonstrated in the sad failure attending the efforts of some truly devoted men who have attempted a matrimonial alliance between science and revealed religion, the folly of which effort can only be condoned in the multitude of services these excellent men have rendered humanity in other departments. I speak of such men as Mivart, Bunsen, S. Baring-Gould, Müller, etc., who, with all their efforts at reconciliation, have succeeded only in reaffirming an old truism, "that science was conceived in antagonism to all revealed religion," and that in the final judgment one or the other must go to the wall, unless there is a repeal of the law of contradiction. There is, however, a set of intellectual Grahamites whose appetites are satisfied with the husks of truth, and who entertain but narrowly conceived notions of the capacity of a healthy mental organism; these men with great parade and sound of trumpets retail their weak decoctions of science to unaccustomed ears, who listen and applaud their bombastic promises of enlightenment, and have not the sagacity to detect the fraud or discover the barrenness of the results.

The applause received by Joseph Cook as a scientific lecturer before religious audiences stimulated him to higher flights. His appearance before the scientific world was not unlike that of the street showman who had been so successful in tricks performed with a

monkey that he was encouraged to practice them with a bear, which resulted in a discontinuance of the business.

A great scientist has said that "all error is truth gone astray," but I should rather say that error is undeveloped truth, such as the old explanation of the perturbations in the orbit of the planet Uranus. The relations of alchemy to chemistry, astrology to astronomy, are also illustrations of this great truth, while the Buddhistic, Mohammedan, Roman, and Pagan religions are not classed as errors; they are false religions, they have no premise in their high claim as a divine revelation. It was formerly the method in our investigations after truth to suspend all our hypotheses and platforms from the sky, but Auguste Comte taught us that all our scaffoldings for a perfect and invulnerable structure must in the future be firmly planted on the earth, or in experience. The completest apprehension we can acquire of the true in a phenomenon is that based upon personal experience or the evidence of our senses — certainties; the next is that achieved by demonstration, next by positive testimony of eye-witnesses, and the lowest of all comprehension of the true in phenomena is that derived from probabilities or accords and discords. That which we see is truth; that which is communicated to us by others is evidence, testimony, and may or may not be true. A dogma or the prescription by authority does not necessarily contain any element of truth.

In order that a historical relation be recognized as truth, it does not follow that it must be in harmony with all known experience. The statements of a known

respectable historian living near enough to the scene and time of the events he narrates to guarantee the probability of his competent information upon the subject, is entitled to our confidence; even his opinions, persuasions, common beliefs, and reasonings become legitimate elements of history, providing he nowhere transcends the sphere of known facts or rational probability, and providing also that his statements have not been transmitted to us through polluted channels by interested and designing men. All such statements, opinions, persuasions, and beliefs we accept upon a standard of personal conviction growing out of the harmony or combination of all these taken together, and which experience has disciplined the mind to approve simultaneously with their announcement.

It was said by an early explorer that the New Zealanders were intelligent, brave, but cruel. Another has said that they were ignorant, cowardly, but kind. The mind cannot accept both, but does not revolt at either of these enormously conflicting statements; either may be true, but, as ethnological facts, both cannot. One of the narrators is in error, and we set about collecting facts and drawing our own conclusions, when we encounter another adventurer who says that the New Zealanders carry their heads under their arms detached from their bodies. A unanimous verdict is at once rendered against the statement of the last writer, because it transgresses well-known laws of nature, and antagonizes all experiential truth. It has no physical relation with anything of which we have experience, and is cut off by an insurmountable barrier from all the true (to us) in the universe.

Thus, while the mind readily accepts either of the first-named conflicting statements without testimony above the naked recital, it instantly and firmly rejects the third. And it would be only folly to attempt to convince the logically constituted mind of the truth of the third statement, upon the same quantity or the like quality of proof which would be conclusive under the first and second; for to the extent that a statement implicates unfamiliar phenomena, to that extent must its attestation be profuse and decisive, unless to the mind dwarfed and diseased by long discipline and training.

A philosopher of the higher consciousness type says (arguing in favor of miracles): "My father died before the electric telegraph came into use, and my grandfather before steam was applied to purposes of locomotion. Had the one been told that it was possible to communicate with England in forty seconds, the other that a journey between New York and Philadelphia could be accomplished in ninety minutes, they each would have pronounced their informant a mendacious idiot." The allegory is not entirely clear, unless to show the wisdom of the ancestors of my philosophical friend. But if he expects me to believe in the miraculous events related in the *Life of Apollonius* because my father and grandfather in their wisdom believed in them, then he is a mendacious idiot; but if he will demonstrate experimentally before my eyes as plainly as present communication with England that it can be done, then I am a mendacious idiot if I longer doubt it.

Now, if we discover in the phenomena which have provoked this discussion the relation of events which

transcend the customary and known experiences of life, so shall we expect their demonstration, proof, and probabilities correspondingly to transcend in unanimous attestation an ordinary historical relation attested by personal conviction. For nothing can be plainer than that the relation of an extraordinary event arouses doubt above that of an ordinary one ; it disturbs the mental inertia, and the mind is set in motion in a direction antagonizing the event, to meet which there must not only be proof sufficient to verify an ordinary historical event, but also and first a certain amount of demonstrative force must be expended to allay the opposition and to bring the mind to that receptive state in which it must be to receive an ordinary account. As with the New Zealanders, the first relation comes entirely within the sphere of probability or personal experience, for some savages are cruel, others kind ; some intelligent, others ignorant ; but in the third statement the story is surrounded with a halo of improbabilities, and lies entirely without the sphere of all known experience, within which every event must be brought or experience widened before it can become accepted truth.

The naked statement of the most excellent man whom all personal experience affirms never told a falsehood, will certainly not avail to bring conviction unsupported ; for while we have no experience of men who carry their heads under their arms, we have an abundant experience that some of the best men will lie,¹ and sometimes

¹ Saint Augustine (Aurelius Augustinus), the most illustrious of all the Latin fathers of the Church, was born a pagan at Tagasta in Numidia, A. D. 354. He has left more literature than any man of his day, and which has had more influence as evidence in proof of a pure spirit-

without any apparent motive; and what one man has been known to do sometimes without any apparent motive, another may do frequently for a consideration, and thus the falsehood may be confirmed by a second and third, until it becomes epidemic and everybody affirms it; for upon the best authority—personal experience—we know that the belief of multitudes is contagious; and when a godly narrative becomes too occult to be accepted upon the acclamations of the multitude, then it either appeals to the supernatural or retires beyond the jurisdiction of experiential science for ratification.

No one probably ever comprehended this truth with more force than the great prophet of the Latter-day

ual life than any writings aside from the New Testament; in fact, it ranks next to the gospel. In his youth he taught grammar and rhetoric at Carthage and Rome; he was also professor of rhetoric and philosophy at Milan. Under the preaching of Saint Ambrose in 368, Augustine experienced a decided conversion. He was shortly ordained a priest, and afterward became Bishop of Hippo. He first distinguished himself at the Council of Carthage, A. D. 401, for his unostentatious piety, eloquence, and Christian logic. No praise was too great to be heaped upon this holy man by his brethren, or by posterity. He was truly a representative Christian of all ages. In his published sermons printed at Paris, 1679–1700, in 11 volumes folio (republished in 1836, 22 vols.), we find in his thirty-third sermon addressed to a conven-

tion of reverend brethren, this statement: "I did myself, while Bishop of Hippo in Africa, preach the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to whole nations of men and women that had no heads but had eyes in their bosoms; and in countries further still in the interior, I preached to a whole nation, among whom each individual had but one eye, and that situate in the middle of the forehead."—*Syntagma of the Evidences of the Christian Religion*, etc., by Rev. R. Taylor, A. B., p. 52; Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Augustine* (in *Ecc. Hist.*), 1657; Ponjoulat, *Vita Sancti Augustini*, 1646; *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*, Rivius, *Palaeoromæica*, 1822, p. 357; *Ancient Metaphysics*, vol. iv. p. 92; cf. *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*, by John W. Draper, M. D., LL. D. (New York, 1875), p. 57, etc.

Saints, Joseph Smith. He took every precaution to have his Book of Mormon overwhelmingly attested. It was certified by John Cowdrey and eight other witnesses, all men well known, and some of them persons who up to this time were noted for being men of good character, and none of them noted for untruthfulness. Their attestation is in the following words :

“Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and peoples unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain the record ; that the translation is correct, and was attested by an angel in our presence.” This statement was subscribed by all the parties (except the angel), and sworn to before a justice of the peace. It is the best attested book in the world.

It is a threadbare argument, and it appears to me a meritless one, that it is easier to believe an improbable story, attested by respectable men, than to set aside as perjurers those who have attested it ; but this is not true, for if the Book of Mormon were sworn to by the whole convocation of Latter-day Saints, it would not change its status one iota with any intelligent man or woman. They furthermore urge for the Book of Mormon that it is a divine revelation, and favored of God, upon the obdurate fact that its proselytes reached the unparalleled number of 350,000 in less than fifty years, four times as many as Christianity made in three times the number of years. But all this can't save it, for it is, notwithstanding its assumptions, a prodigious fraud.

The great problem, however, which we find mature and awaiting deliverance under the present discussion,

is: What is the status and relative value of the two records, Matthew and Philostratus, as historical mentors? Is there any exclusive privilege which we are bound to accord to one of these narratives which we are compelled to withhold from the other? Shall one of them be privileged to challenge the historic domain at the exclusion of the other, equally well authenticated? If not, and this is a free field, we wish to be heard. "An honest inquiry into the truth of the gospel," Mr. Moody tells us, "is not only every man's privilege, but every man's duty; but," he significantly and in genuine orthodox logic adds, "should we conclude that it is not true then we will surely be damned."

With this sketch of our method of treating phenomena called miraculous, we shall proceed with our Life of Apollonius of Tyana in answer to the challenge, amplifying with notes, as we may deem necessary from time to time, for the better illustrating our sketch.

A prominent feature of our work is the bibliographical references, which cover a very important and heretofore almost unexplored field of literature. Nor are our numismatic references without their value.

FLATBUSH, L. I., 1886.

D. M. T.



LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA.

LET us roll back the curtain of partisan bitterness which has veiled for eighteen centuries the real history of the first ten decades of our era, and essay to construct upon the remains of ruined temples, works of art, the broken and defaced monuments, perverted and interpolated records—the only unimpeachable heritage we possess of this past age—a panorama of the geographic and historic events of that portion of the Roman empire lying around and adjacent to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The success of our efforts, of course, much depends upon antecedent preparation and present enthusiasm for our work, and we hope the reader will observe a punctilious conservatism as we lay in the background of neutral tints, adjustable to any phase, which the development of new facts may justify us in tracing upon the surface of our

ideal panorama.¹ Of all the events of this land and this age about to engage our attention, the most memorable is, that it witnessed the last of a series of prodigies ; the end of a long line of incarnations and avatars ; the closing out of a stock in remainders of miracles and of divinely appointed and commissioned personages, which have been worked into the woof and warp of the written and traditionary history of man from the earliest ages ; all of which, from the times most prehistoric, present about the same measure of incompleteness in detail, and possess about the same amount of intrinsic merit, and offer analogous claims upon our credulity for recognition. We do not mean to say that there is anything startling or marvelous in the mere survival, perpetuation of these stories of god incarnations ; they began with the earliest ages of our race, and constituted the only literature of primitive man, and come to us encumbered with all the peculiar superstitions of the age which marked their birth or transfiguration. But on the closest scrutiny of these marvelous relations we find no evidence of growth ; we look for the superimposed layers of succeeding epochs of culture, the faithful guide-posts of the scientists, in vain ; they are without the sphere

¹ "The classic scholar whose studies have hardly exceeded the limits prescribed in the curriculum of the universities, and the biblical scholar whose explorations of the Hebrew scriptures have not led him beyond the field of exegesis in theological pursuit, may recognize a vague and misty chaos of mythologies (in these relations) which not accurately understanding he will (probably)

superciliously affect to despise."—Alexander Wilder, M. D., *Introduction to Ancient Symbol Worship*. With such, and especially another class who have invested themselves by the severest mental discipline with an integument of dogma impervious to all logical methods, I anticipate but indifferent results, beyond the severest condemnation for my presumption.

of all past and present experience, and defy scientific demonstration. The last age of miracle was no more significant for the quality of miracle than the first. They are the unchanging *esto perpetua* annuity of the faithful through all succeeding ages in all countries.

Leaving therefore the unworthy testimony of miracle with our introductory chapter we shall proceed with our story.¹

¹ From the time that disputes began concerning the Christian religion, Christians have charged Philostratus with having appropriated the events and miracles contained in Matthew's gospel to adorn his life of Apollonius of Tyana, and the pagans have made counter charges of plagiarism against the writer of this gospel. Cf. John Henry Newman's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, vol. i. (*History of the Christian Church*), p. 345; see, also, Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, etc., 2 vols. (Blackie & Son, 1839), vol. i. p. 90, b. 2, c. xvii. Upon the earlier accounts of Apollonius these charges have been held to be of sufficient importance to meet with efforts of refutation from eminent Christians; even as late as our day Rev. Albert Réville did not think it beneath his dignity, nor his great learning, to attempt in 1866 a refutation of "this great and monstrous infidel slander." He attempted to show in a little book bearing the title of *Apollonius the Pagan Christ of the Third Century* (meaning the first century), that Philostratus had borrowed his leading facts from the

Gospel of Matthew. The translation of Philostratus by Rev. Edward Berwick was with the same avowed intent. Both of these excellent authors, we regret to say, have very much contracted the field of their usefulness by their strong partisanship. I apprehend that the Gospel of Matthew had but one grand central idea; and that to give the events in the real life of one Jesus of Nazareth; this I believe is accepted from Justin Martyr to Constantine Tischendorf, although some of the more timid and witless of the modern theological savants, as if to ward off an impending blow aimed at the real man, now declare that the physical life of Jesus is as immaterial to vital Christianity as the physical life of Mahomet. Tischendorf, however, says: "That Christianity does not in any sense rest upon the teachings of Christ, but that it rests upon his person only, and if we are in error concerning the miraculous conception and physical nature of Jesus, then is the church a deception and a fraud." He further says: "That whatever the early ages of the church report

"So extremely slight," says Charles Lesley, "is the authority upon which the biography of Apollonius of Tyana, the stoic, is fabricated, that many learned men

to us concerning the person of Jesus from pretended independent sources, all is either derived from the gospel or is made up of a few insignificant details of no historic value in themselves. And that Christianity had not nor has it any other radiating or central point, everything else is subservient to the dogma of the real historic man, and if this is a fallacy then does the whole scheme of redemption fall like the provincial towns of a conquered empire."—*When were the Gospels Written? An Argument*, by Constantine Tischendorf, etc. (London), p. 40.

"The prevalent opinion amongst the early Christian converts," says Mosheim, "was that Christ existed in appearance only, and not in reality, and that his body was a mere phantom. The book of the Acts of Peter, John, Thomas, and Paul speak of Christ as a phantom, and such was the idea of the followers of Corinthus, of the Nicolaitans who are denounced in the Apocalypse of the Docetæ of Cordon, Marcion, Lucian, Apelles, and Faustus."

And there can be no doubt of the truth of what Tischendorf here says: "Author after author, volume after volume, of the life of Christ may appear until the archives of the universe are filled, and yet all we have of the life of Jesus is to be

found in Matthew's gospel. Not a single person specially associated with Jesus impinges history."—*What is Christianity?* etc., by Thomas L. Strange (London, 1880), p. 38.

"Many," says Mosheim, "have undertaken to write a history of the Apostles—a history of fables, doubts, and difficulties."

Henry More, D. D. (1660), says in his work, entitled *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness, or a True and Faithful Representation of the Everlasting Gospel of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Only Begotten Son of God*, etc., etc. (London, 1660), at p. 124:

"We have made a parallel of the miracles and prophecies of Christ and Apollonius, and have spent our judgment upon them; the truth of which censure, that it may the better appear to all, we shall briefly compare their temper or frame of spirit, which I confess is as brave in Apollonius as the animal life will reach unto. But the animal life falls short of the saving knowledge of God and is but that which in a manner is common to beasts, devils, and man. This, therefore, we will acknowledge to be in Apollonius a general sense of political justice, a severe profession of temperance, a great affection for humanity, and an ardent love of knowledge, especially

have doubted whether there ever was such a man.”¹ Lesley, however, wrote with strong prejudices, and based his conclusions upon a very slender tissue of fact. Lucian and Apuleius speak of Apollonius as of one with whom they were familiar; and Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan historian of Antioch, also mentions

of things to come. But how far short does he fall in all his virtues of the truly heavenly and divine! His life was spent in industriously trotting from one nation of the world to another to gather honor and applause to himself by correcting the customs of the heathen and renewing their fallen rites and playing the uncontrollable reformer whenever he pleased. He was ever ‘haile fellow well met’ with the highest kings and emperors, they being ever taken with great admiration of his wisdom.

“It is most evident that the natural sense of honor and gallantry was the wing and spirit which made Apollonius such a great reputation in his time, and that he being of a lofty and generous nature, apt to reach out at high things, the kingdom of darkness hooked him in to make an instrument of him for their own turn, and so to dress up paganism in the best attire they could to make it if it were possible to vie with Christianity.”

I know of no one except some jealous Christians who ever thought of making a comparison of Apollonius to Jesus, and all the gasconade about the efforts made either by Apollonius or his biographers to

equal him to Jesus is the merest bosh. Neither Apollonius nor Philostratus ever heard of Jesus, nor did they ever hear of any celebrities who are said to have been associated with him, nor had they ever heard of the religion which he is said to have established on earth. And how could they ape institutions of which they had no knowledge?

John Henry Newman, in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, having all the above facts before him, has made an exhibition of littleness hardly to have been expected from a man of his reputation. He says: “The reputation of Apollonius has been raised far above his personal merits, by efforts to bring him forward as the rival of the author of our religion. His life was written with this object about a century after his death.” Statements of this character made by any other man would be characterized as falsehoods; that is, statements made for the purpose of deceiving. Cf. John Henry Newman’s *Life of Apollonius of Tyana (History of the Christian Church)*, p. 345.

¹ We believe that Charles Lesley is the only learned man who ever intimated such a thing.

him. John Henry Newman, D. D., says of Apollonius: "Yet, after all allowances, there remains enough to show that, however fabulous the details of his history may be, there was something extraordinary in his character; some foundation there must have been for statements which his eulogists were able to maintain in the face of those who would have spoken out had they been entirely novel." "He was a philosopher," says Voltaire, "whom history has not reproached with one equivocal action, nor any of those weaknesses of which Socrates himself was accused." He traveled among the Magi and the Brachmans, and was everywhere the more honored, on account of his modesty and virtue; giving always wise and prudent counsels, and rarely disputing with any one. The prayer which he was accustomed to offer up to the gods is admirable: "Oh, ye immortal gods, grant us whatever you shall judge fit and proper to bestow, and of which we may not be undeserving." He was by no means an enthusiast himself, but his disciples were so. The Tyanæans have ranked him among the demi-gods; and the Roman emperors approved his apotheosis. But, in the course of time, the deification of Apollonius shared the same fate as that decreed to the Roman emperors; and his chapel became as deserted as that which the Athenians erected in honor of Socrates.¹

As late as the fifth century we find one Volusian, a pro-consul of Africa, descended from an old Roman

¹ *The Philosophy of History*; Bazen (Voltaire), translated by or, *a Philosophical and Historical* H. W. Gaudell (London, 1829), *Dissertation*, etc., etc., by L'Abbé p. 193.

family, still worshiping Apollonius of Tyana as a supernatural being.¹ Eusebius styles him a wise man, and seems to admit the correctness of Philostratus, except the miraculous part of the narrative. Lactantius does not deny that a statue was erected to him at Ephesus. Sidonius Apollinaris, who even wrote his life, speaks of him as the admiration of the countries he traversed, and the favorite of monarchs. One of his works was deposited in the palace of Antioch by Hadrian.² Statues were erected to him in the temple by Caracalla, Alexander Severus, and Aurelianus.³ It is claimed for Apollonius by his followers that he was the son of the god Proteus,⁴ a claim, we apprehend, with a very frail foundation, and repudiated by him. From the best evidence in our possession he was born in the year one of our era,⁵ during the reign of Cæsar Augustus, and near the close of the great Augustan period, which rose in such glory and splendor and sank in darkness and gloom. It occurred in the same year that the chief minister of Augustus, the companion and adviser of Octavius, — Mæcenas, — died;⁶ and was the same year that Archelaus, son of

¹ *Pagan Christ* (Réville), p. 56.

² A coin of Hadrian's time is extant, with the inscription, Τύανα ἑστῶν ἁγίων ἀντιόχου.

³ *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, with a comparison between the Miracles of the Scriptures*, etc., etc., by John Henry Newman, D. D. (*History of Christian Church*), vol. i. p. 348; also, *Eusebius Volaisius Lampsidius*, etc., as quoted by Bayle.

⁴ *Apollonius De Tyane. Sa Vie, Ses Voyages, Ses Prodiges*, etc. (Paris, Chassang), p. 5, *et seq.*

⁵ In the year of Rome 750, or of the Christian era 1.—J. H. Newman.

⁶ Cf. *Life of Mæcenas, with critical notes, History*, etc., by Ralph Schomberg, M. D. (London, 1776); also, *Suetonius* (Bohn, 1855), p. 182; Richter, *Vie de Mécenas* (1746); *Merbonius de C. C. Mæcenatis Vita*

Herod the Great, was recognized by Cæsar Augustus as king of Judea.¹ It is said that Apollonius was of divine parentage, and that messengers of Apollo sang at his birth.² Proteus, his reputed father, was a Greek god of philosophy, son of Neptune, and king of Egypt. He is represented as a prophetic old man, who could tell future events.³ The life of Apollonius extended over ten decades. He died in the year 98 of our era. This is quite a remarkable age, but not very extraordinary; for in Vespasian's time they counted within the circuit of a small district fifty-four men of the age of a hundred; forty between one hundred and ten and one hundred and forty; and two past one hundred and fifty.⁴

(1653); *Mæcenas Literatorum Patronus*, Bellman's Upsal (1705); Tacitus, *Annales*, lib. 1, iii. iv.; Dion Cassius, *History of Rome*.

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, Judea, lib. 17, c. xv.; *History Israelites and Judeans*, *Philosophical and Critical* (Trubner, London, 1879), vol. ii. p. 391; Irenæus, *Adv. Hæc.* vol. i. p. 26; Statius, lib. 5, ii. verses 138-9; *Inman*, p. 304, etc.

"Apollonius of Tyana," says Gibbon, "was born about the same time as Jesus Christ. His life (the former) is related in so fabulous a manner by his fanatic disciples that we are at a loss to discover whether he was a sage or impostor."

² *Dissertations on the Mysteries of the Cabiri, or the Greek Gods of Phœnicia, Samothrace, Egypt, Troas, Greece, Italy, and Crete*, by George Stanley Faber, 2 vols. (1803), vol. ii. p. 234:

"Never had been Rome more flourishing than during the present reign of Augustus, who had been its sole ruler for thirty years under the title of *Son of God*. The other Cæsars proclaimed themselves living gods. Augustus had restored order in Italy, and added Egypt, Rhætia, Noricum, and Pannonia to his empire. He had been appointed imperator for the fourth term of ten years by the people. In the reformation of religion during the reign of Augustus, Apollo Palatinus was installed as next to Jupiter Capitolinus, the tutelary deity of Rome."

³ Ammianus Marcellinus ranks Apollonius among the most eminent men who had prophesied by supernatural aid of a dæmon or genius, as Socrates or Numa.

⁴ *Ideen über die Politik den Verkeht und den Handel vornehmensten Völker der Alten Welt*, von A. L.

Valerius Maximus says that Terentia, widow of Cicero, attained the age of one hundred and three. Pliny says she was one hundred and seventeen when she died. On the authority of Pritchard, Whitehead, Bailey, and others, Apollonius was one hundred and thirty when he died: bearing in mind, in the meantime, however, that it has been maintained with great resolution and bitterness that no such person as Apollonius of Tyana had ever lived, and that the pretended span of his life and history were entirely the product of the brain of Philostratus.¹

Heeren, 2 vols. (Gottingen, 1796), vol. ii. p. 184; cf. *Histoire de l'Economie Politique en Europe depuis les Anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, par Blanque (Paris, 1842).

¹ We believe this sketch of Apollonius, with all the labor it represents to us, if not of its own intrinsic merits as a classic, will have significance in determining the standard value of other and contemporaneous characters with which it stands in contrast. The usual methods of saying things and declaring them proven, pervades nearly all the literature prepared, admittedly, to write down Apollonius. But I know of no vulnerable point of attack upon Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius*, which will not, with vastly augmented force, under the same methods of reasoning, recoil upon Matthew's Gospel of the Life of Jesus. But they declare that Philostratus wrote up a character in imitation of Christ, and in opposition to the Christian religion, when the best evidence in the world exists (his entire

silence) that he had never heard of Christ or Christians. However, if Philostratus did create a character in imitation of Christ, how much more worthy of our imitation in practice and precept is the counterfeit!

It is equally remarkable that, although Plutarch's miscellaneous writings make mention or allude with unerring certainty to nearly every ethical or theurgic opinion of his time (A. D. 50 to 120 A. D.), he is absolutely silent on the subject of Christianity. And this is more singular because the provinces of Bithynia and Pontus, only a few days' journey from Bœotia, were, if we may believe Christian writers, already swarming with the proselytes of Christianity. And on like authority Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, and Philippi were centers of great Christian revivals. He ought to have remembered Nero's persecution of the Christians; yet while he speaks of every other persecution, he is persistently silent upon the great event of the day.

At the period of the birth of Apollonius, A. D. 1 (or about), the Roman empire was in the zenith of its power and glory.¹ The geography of the earth known to the Romans at this period was a slight knowledge of Britain, a small portion of Germany, Gallia (France), Hispania (Spain), a very limited knowledge of the countries of Africa immediately bordering on the Mediterranean, of Egypt as far as Ethiopia on the Nile, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia; India and China had a traditionary existence only. And of these countries Apollonius in his life-time visited all except Britain, Germany, and China. As a traveler he was excelled by no man anterior to his time, and it was probably his foreign itineraries which accounted for his breadth of thought and the liberality of his political and religious creed. He had, for the period in which he lived, developed a marvelous knowledge of human affairs, through his great and varied experiences at home and abroad, which had given rise to the belief with many that he possessed miraculous powers.²

Flavius Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius of Tyana, or author of the Gospel of Philostratus,³ the son of Verrus, was born at Lemnos, A. D. 172.⁴ He was the Talleyrand of the second century; he studied rhet-

¹ Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman History*, translated by Wilson, b. 7, c. ix. (Bohn, London, 1853).

² Cf. *Caji Suetonii Tranquilli Opera et In illa Commentarius; Samuelis Pitisci Quo Antiquitates Romanæ*, etc., etc. (1590), vol. i. p. 226.

³ Réville's *Pagan Christ*, etc., pp. 4-75.

⁴ Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i. p. 257, supposes the birth of Philostratus occurred A. D. 182. Dr. Smith's *Classical Dictionary* makes it A. D. 172. Cf. Blount, Berwick, Tillemont, and others. See also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article, Philostratus.

oric at Athens ; afterward resided at Rome ; he was a man of high literary attainments, so say his contemporaries ; he was a sophist, and wrote the Lives of the Sophists, Short Biographies of Fifty-nine Rhetoricians and Philosophers, Heroica, Discourses on Seventy Heroes of Homer, *Traité sur la Gymnastique*,¹ *Icones*, Comments on Certain Paintings in the Gallery which was at Naples,² a Collection of Letters, seventy-three in number,³ and also an exhaustive treatise on the Philosophy and Religion of his day.⁴ And more especially pertinent to this inquiry he compiled the History and Biography of Apollonius of Tyana.⁵ He was

¹ Paris, 1858.

² The writer is introduced as living in a villa near Naples, which contains a choice collection of paintings. To please the son of his host and his young companions, he undertakes to describe and explain the pictures, which are sixty-four in all. The descriptions are exceedingly good, and reveal the skillful word-painter, no less than the accomplished connoisseur of art.—R. Garnett, LL.D., *Enc. Brit.*, article, Philostratus; cf. Friedericks, *Die Philostratischen Bilder* (1860); Brunn, *Die Philostratischen Gemälde* (1861); A. Bougot, *Une galerie antique* (1881); E. Bertrand, *Une Critique d'art dans l'antiquité Philistrate et son école* (1882).

³ Lipsicæ, 1842.

⁴ The entire works of Philostratus, by Morel (Paris, 1608); the same, by Olearius (Leipsic, 1709); same, by Kayser (1844); *Eunape*, par Bois-

sonade; *Declamations of Himerus*, par Dubner (Paris), 1 vol. For the writings of Philostratus, cf. Vossius, Jonsius, Meursius, Fabricus.

⁵ A copy of this work in Greek may be found in the Library of Congress. Philostratus informs us that the materials for his work were obtained from different cities wherein Apollonius was held in high esteem; also from temples whose long-disused rites he restored, from traditions, and from the epistles of Apollonius addressed to kings and sophists. Of these letters, the Emperor Adrian had made a collection, which he deposited in his palace at Antium. Caracalla honored Apollonius, and dedicated a temple to him as a hero; and he was in such estimation with Alexander Severus, that he had his statue in his private closet (Tillemont). Philostratus was also assisted in his work by the use of Apollonius's work on Astrology

one of the most prolific writers of his time. Various charges have been preferred against Philostratus, such as being visionary, superstitious, illiterate, or obscure. These things were intended to injure his standing as a historian, and have probably but little foundation in truth.¹ The charge of being superstitious may not have been entirely unjustifiable; for the credit which he seems to give to the account of ridiculous miracles attributed to Apollonius might hold him guilty on this count. And again he says: "I have seen the will of Apollonius, which conclusively proves him to be an inspired man." This is very inconclusive, indeed, to all who have not seen the will.² As to the other charges against Philostratus, they are wholly untrue, and are amply refuted in the pages of general history without recourse to special annals. He also made a permanent impression upon the age and literature of his time,³ and

and Sacrifice; also, that he made use of the book of Maximus the Ægæan, the biography written by Damis the Assyrian; and he was fortunate enough, he informs us, to meet with the book written by Mæragenes.

¹ *Bibliothèque Universelle, Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par Louis Ellers Dupin (Paris, 1686-1704), 58 vols.

² There is no doubt but that the admirers of Apollonius have endeavored to crown him with the attributes of divinity. Meanwhile, the statistics of personal history which would give the lie to such assumption have been destroyed; dates, stubborn barriers in the way

of apotheosis, have been lost; registers of births there are, unfortunately, none; thus, through the sophistry of designing men, the inference to the minds of the ignorant and credulous is, that he had no mortal father, but sprang from the soil, or rose from the sea, or came down from heaven, or was the joint offspring of God and a human maiden. The circumstances attending the death long forgotten, the partisan story of heavenly descent and ascension, could not be refuted, and the territory which truth could not occupy, superstition and fraud at once claimed.

³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

the genius of history has assigned him an important niche in her temple.¹

He was not only a man of general culture but of tolerant and liberal views on subjects of religion, and is quoted as authority by hundreds of subsequent writers. He was the only authority upon which J. T. Wood, F. S. A., based his theory, and the only guide to his explorations, which resulted in such glorious achievements at Ephesus.²

The discovery of the temple of Diana on New Year's Day, 1870, one of the greatest archæological legacies of modern times, was the result of a careful reading of Philostratus, who says that "a rich Roman named Damianus had connected the temple with the city by a stoa, or covered portico, six hundred feet in length; and so accurate was Philostratus in this statement and details, that upon it alone Mr. Wood commenced his excavations and obtained his great success."³ Philostratus wrote also on religious subjects embraced within the first half of the first century of our era.

¹ *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, (Thomas, Philadelphia, 1870), 2 vols.; also, *History of Philosophy: Fabricius, Bibliotheca Græca, Rehfus*. "À la renaissance des lettres Philostrate obtint en Europe les honneurs que méritèrent les grands écrivains d'Athènes et de Rome.—*Le Grand d'Aussy*, p. 42, *avant propos*."

² Mr. Wood says: "In my perplexity I chose Strabo, Pausanias, and Philostratus. The last-named appeared to give the most valuable

information to the probable site of the temple, etc."—*Discoveries at Ephesus*, etc. (J. T. Wood, 1877), p. 22.

³ This temple was three hundred and forty-three feet long by one hundred and sixty-four wide, and was built about 500 B. C. It was burned by Erostratus 356 B. C., and was ruined by the Goths 262 A. D. Coins and medals found in the villa of Hadrian and now in the museum of the Vatican confirm the chronology of the temple.

He speaks at length on the religious customs, superstitions, and schisms among the Jews and pagans, and there are no reliable writings of the period now extant which throw more valuable light upon the manners, customs, creeds, and politics of the times than those of Philostratus.¹ He died, according to Suidas, at the age of seventy or over.

Rev. Albert Réville says that Philostratus was one of the many men of letters who gravitated around Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (A. D. 193 to 211).² She was a woman of uncommon attainments and purity of character. The efforts made by early Christian writers to defame her by charging upon her incest have been amply refuted by Herodian and Dion Cassius. Her likeness is said to be faithfully represented on Roman coins, many of which are still extant; on some she is associated with Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. They are of both gold and copper. Julia was the daughter of Bassianus, a priest of the sun (so says Dr. Réville), a native of the city of Emesa in Syria, near Jerusalem, and was entitled the beautiful Carian. As soon as she was made empress, she attracted about her the finest intellects and the greatest orators of her day, among whom were Dion

¹ "In the *Life of Apollonius*," which would, of necessity, influence the sympathies of pagan thinkers. says Rev. Albert Réville, "we are enabled to understand more of the moral aspect of times which it is almost impossible to realize when studied in the light of Roman history than in any extant contemporaneous writings. It admits us at once into the religious atmosphere On these grounds it richly deserves the high rank assigned to it by modern criticism."—Réville's *Apollonius*, p. 5.

² Cf. Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman History*, b. 8, c. xviii.

Cassius, Ulpian, Papinianus, and Philostratus.¹ She lived much in seclusion, devoting her time to literature and philosophy, and it was at her instigation that Philostratus prepared and published the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, she having furnished the materials.² She also brought together a great collection of works on art, and a library devoted to biography and philosophy; and, next to the great enchantress, Cleopatra, we know of no woman of ancient times who became so eminent as a collector of literature. She brought together books from every part of the known world, and formed an immense library, the nucleus of which, however, was laid by Ulpinus Trajanus, but was rendered

¹ *History of Greek Literature* (Mahaffy), vol. ii. p. 351.—Dion Cassius was born in Nicæa, A. D. 155. He was a descendant from Dion Chrysostom, and governor of Smyrna and Pergamus under Macrinus. He wrote several works in Greek, the principal of which was a *History of Rome* down to his day, in eighty books; fragments only remain in the works of Xiphilinus. There are eighty speeches of his on Philosophy, etc. His writings are esteemed for their elegance of style and their accuracy; he was diligent in research, and his work was a rich collection of documents on Roman institutions; he did not recognize Christ or Christians; and from the nature of his writings, the country, and period, it seems marvelous that he should have omitted it upon any other theory than that they were not

there. Domitius Ulpian, an eminent Roman jurist, born at Tyre, A. D. 170. He was author of a work entitled *Ad Edictum*, the fragments of which have been published. He was assassinated by his soldiers, A. D. 228.

² It is remarkable that Philostratus, a man of character and reputation, should have believed a tithe of the wonders he has related of him; and notwithstanding all this evident falsehood of Apollonius, such was the superstition and credulity of his period, that temples and statues were erected in his honor, and his appellation was, "the true friend of the gods."—*The Philosophy of Magic, Prodiges, and Apparent Miracles*, by Eusebe Salverte, with notes by Anthony T. Thompson, 2 vols. (London, 1844), vol. i. p. 248.

famous and ponderous through the patronage of Julia Domna.¹ This great library remained intact until the

¹ We have no information to be relied upon concerning Grecian books before the wars of Troy and Thebes. The Lacedæmonians had no books; their trained memories rendered books useless for that age. But if the Greeks had few books the Romans had still less, in this early age. The Athenians, who were great speakers, also wrote a great deal; and when the age of books began, Athenian literature formed the material for many volumes which enriched the later Grecian libraries. When Xerxes became master of Athens, he removed all the books and manuscripts to Persia. Zuringer says: "There was a magnificent library on the island of Cnidus, which was burned by order of Hippocrates, because the inhabitants refused to adopt his method of medicine." The most numerous, as well as the best selected libraries, were those of the Egyptians, who surpassed all other nations by their books and knowledge. Diodorus, the Sicilian, informs us that Osymandias was the first who founded a library in Egypt (B. C. 1800). There was a library at Memphis, in the temple of Vulcan, at the time of Homer, whom Naucrates accused of stealing the *Iliad* and *Odysey*, and using them as his own productions. The most magnificent library of Egypt was that begun under Ptolemy Soter (his portrait is preserved

on a bronze medal in the British Museum) at Alexandria. His son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, inherited the book passion, and enriched this Alexandrian library. Josephus says there were 200,000 volumes in this library. When Julius Cæsar was besieged in Alexandria, he found it necessary to set fire to the fleet as it entered the port; the wind, unluckily, spread the flames, and the fire communicated with the city, and the celebrated library was destroyed; it is said to have contained 400,000 volumes. The books saved from this conflagration, and the fragments of the library of Pergamus, given to Cleopatra by Antony, were formed into the new library of Serapion. Plutarch assures us that Paulus Æmilius distributed among his children the library of Perseus, king of Macedonia, whom he led captive to Rome (167 B. C.) Next came the library of Apellicon, the Teian, brought from Athens by Sully (86 B. C.) Plutarch also mentions the library of Lucullus as one of the most considerable in the world, both for the number of volumes and the monuments with which it was decorated. Augustus founded a library on the Mount Palatin (30 B. C.), which was burned during the conflagration under Titus. The idea of this library was conceived by Julius Cæsar. Tiberius founded one near the temple of Apollo, and Vespasian

time of Justinian, A. D. 410,¹ who renovated it of its "philosophical chaff," as he called it; but which was really a wedge entered for its destruction. It was left, however, for Pope Gregory the Great, who became disgusted with the vast amount of pagan literature (A. D. 585), to entirely demolish it. Thus ended one of the great libraries of the world,² and with it probably perished the noblest collection of pagan literature ever brought together.

The primitive Christians, renouncing every other care but that of the salvation of souls, burnt all the books which they could lay hold of bearing no affinity to their religion; and thus, for more than one thousand years, this conflict against literature and learning continued. The Crusaders burnt the library of Tripoli; Cardinal Ximenes delivered to the flames at Grenada, in the sixteenth century, 80,000 Arabian manuscripts, many of them translations of classical authors.³

founded one near the temple of Peace in imitation of Augustus and Tiberius, after the burning of Rome under Nero. But the grandest Roman library was the Ulpian, founded by the Emperor Trajan in the forum, afterward removed to the baths of Diocletian. This library was patronized and enlarged by Julia Domna. It contained the works of many renowned writers — as Callimachus, Lycophron and Apollonius Rhodus, poets; Eratosthenes, who measured the size of the earth; of Apollonius; of Perga, who invented conic sections; of Hipparchus, who made a list of the stars; of Euclid, the geometrician;

of Manetho, the astrologer; of Dionysius, author of a geographical poem; of Aratus, poet; and Nicanor, writer on medicine.

¹ *Histoire de Justinien* (Isambert, 1856); *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Gibbon); *Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*, ch. xx. (Montesquieu).

² Cf. *Ecclesiastical History* (Fleury); *Encyclopædia Brit.*, art. Libraries; *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints*, etc., by Rev. Alban Butler, 12 vols.; vol. iii. p. 109, art. Gregory.

³ *History of the Conflict between Science and Religion*, by John W. Draper, M. D., LL. D., p. 104.

Julia Domna died, A. D. 217. "As an accomplished and distinguished woman," Rev. A. Réville says, "she occupies the foremost rank." She was known and beloved at Jerusalem, where a coin bearing her effigy was struck, and another bearing her effigy and name. The citizens of Tyana also honored her by striking a coin to her, and Roman coins bearing her portrait and name are now plentiful.¹

The journal of Damis, a disciple of Apollonius, and the principal source of Philostratus's information concerning Apollonius, embracing a period from about A. D. 43 to A. D. 98, was furnished by Julia Domna from her valuable collection of authentic manuscripts, before referred to. It is a plain story made up of in-

¹ Pagan as she was, the people of Jerusalem, as late as the third century, struck a coin in honor of Julia Domna. It bore her portrait on one side and a turreted female on the other, symbolical of confidence. A fine example of this exceedingly rare coin is in the Reichardt Collection, London. The portrait of Julia Domna on the Roman minted coins of her day, and they are abundant, represents a woman about thirty-five, with fine features and a severe expression. These coins were struck in all the metals — gold, silver, bronze, and copper. The type of the gold coin is, Cybele seated between two lions, with an inscription, MATER DEUM; and on the reverse, IVLIA DOMNA AVC, with Venus leaning on a column, VENERI VICTR. — Cf. *History of Jewish Coinages in the Old and*

New Testaments, by Frederick W. Madden (London, 1864); *Coin Collectors' Manual: or, Guide to the Formation of a Cabinet of Coins*, etc., etc., by H. Noel Humphrey, vol. ii. pp. 346, 624, 668; also, *Coins and Medals of the Ancients*, etc., by Barclay V. Head (London, 1801); also, *Spartianus Vita Septimius Severus*, c. xvii.

We regret exceedingly that Greek coins lie without the field of our research; we come entirely within the Roman empire, and all Greek coins antedated that period. The study of Greek coins is one of the most instructing and interesting chapters in the history of ancient civilization. We shall indulge a little in reference to them in such a manner as is not entirely irrelevant to our story, but which is crisp and sparkling in interest.

tensely interesting and well selected events in the life of Apollonius, put down as they transpired by a simple and enamored disciple who loved his master, and from the first to the last believed him to be inspired; who never doubted or denied him, and who was never happy out of his presence.

But the greatest literary merit of the journal is the consortship it begets with its principal actor. We journey with him in his travels from Cappadocia into farther India, Ionia, Rome, Spain, Africa, Egypt, Sicily; become familiar with every move, his features, his moods, and his eccentricities; we learn to pity his weaknesses, and sympathetically share his misfortunes. All this may be attributed to the enthusiasm and artlessness of Damis, and is probably as free from design as is that biography of biographies, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.¹ Having now, I think, thoroughly demon-

¹ J. A. Froude, in *The Nineteenth Century* of September, 1879, says: "In the Acts of the Apostles we meet with a class of persons whose features in our own times become again familiar to us,—quacks and conjurers, professing to be in communication with the spiritual world, and who are regarded with curiosity and interest by serious men high in rank and authority. Sergius Paulus was craving for any light which could be given to him, and in default of better teaching had listened to Elymas the sorcerer. Simon Magus, if we may credit Catholic tradition, was in favor at the imperial court of Rome, where he matched his power against St.

Peter, and was defeated only because God was stronger than the devil. The curious arts of these people were regarded both by Christian and heathen as a mastery of a supernatural secret, and in the hunger for information about the great mystery with which the whole society was possessed, they rose many of them into positions of extraordinary influence and consequence. Asia Minor seems to have been the chief breeding-ground of this Eastern magic, and here it came in contact with Greek civilization, and this imposture was able to disguise itself in the phases of philosophy. Apollonius of Tyana was the most remarkable of these adventurers.

strated the status of Philostratus as a respectable historian, and one entitled to the highest consideration as a student and scholar, we will proceed with the narra-

According to Philostratus he was a heathen saviour, who claimed a commission from heaven to teach a pure and reformed religion, and in attestation of his authority went about healing the sick, curing the blind, raising dead men to life, casting out demons, stilling tempests, and prophesying future events, which came afterward to pass. The interesting fact about Apollonius is the extensive recognition he obtained and the ease with which his impostures found acceptance in the existing condition of the popular mind. He was born, four years before the Christian era, in Tyana, a city of Cappadocia (cf. *Phylostratus de Vita Apollonii Tyanei Scriptor Luculentus*, a Philippo Beroaldo Castigatus, primus lib. [1502]). His parents sent him to be educated at Tarsus, in Cilicia, a place of considerable wealth and repute, and he must have been about the beginning of his studies there when St. Paul as a little boy was first running about the streets. The life in Tarsus being too luxurious for Apollonius's aspirations, he betook himself to the temple of Æsculapius at Ægæ, and became a water-drinker and a vegetarian. His devotion to Æsculapius means that he studied medicine. On the death of his father he divided his property among the poor, and after five years'

retirement he traveled as far as India in search of knowledge. Here he discoursed with the learned Brahmans, and came home with enlightened ideas and with some skill in the arts of the Indian jugglers (there is no warrant for the last assertion in the journal of Damis). With these two possessions he began his career as a teacher in the Roman empire. He preached his new religion, and performed miracles to induce people to believe in him. He was at Rome in Nero's time, when Simon Magus and St. Peter were there. In the convulsions which followed Nero's murder, being then an old man, he attached himself to Vespasian in Egypt. Vespasian, who was not without his superstitions, and had himself once been persuaded to work a miracle, is said to have looked kindly on him and patronized him, and Apollonius blossomed out into glory as the spiritual adviser of the Vespasian dynasty. The cruelties of Domitian estranged him. He was accused of conspiring with Nerva and with having sacrificed a child to bribe the gods to Nerva's interest. He was even charged with having pretended being a god himself. He was arraigned, convicted, and was about to suffer, when he vanished out of the hands of the Roman police and reappeared

tive of Apollonius,¹ a sketch of whom had been previously published by Maximus of Ægæ,² a secretary to Emperor Archelaus and tutor to Apollonius.³ This account was written and published between A. D. 17 and A. D. 20, while he was yet a youth. It extolled the wonderful mental qualities of the youth, and regarded him especially favored of the gods. The sketch was quite imperfect, a fact of which Philostratus complains.

There was another account of Apollonius in the four books of Mæragenes. Philostratus does not speak very complimentary of this work.⁴ He says: "There

at Ephesus, where he soon after died. Apollonius of Tyana, among many others, was looked upon through a greater part of the Roman empire as an emanation of the divine nature. Such periods are the opportunities of false prophets."

¹ "Sur les œuvres de Philostratus et celles de son neveu Philostrate le Jeune voyez deux excellents articles de M. Miller."—*Journal de Savants*, Octobre et Décembre, 1849.

As before stated, Apollonius was born in the year one of the Christian era, four years after the death of Herod, king of Judea, who had divided his kingdom among his surviving sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philippus. His will and disposition of his kingdom was in the main approved by Augustus (A. D. 7). Archelaus, king of Judea, was removed and banished to Vienne, and was succeeded, in A. D. 9, by

Marcus Ambivius. The next procurator in Judea was Ammianus Rufus (A. D. 13). The next year Augustus died.

² Ægæ was a sea-port town of Cilicia, noted for its shipping and its pirates. — Lucian's *Pharsalia*, b. iii. 227.

³ Parmi les auteurs grecs qui ont parlé d'Apollonius quatre principalement avoient laissé des memoirs sur la vie: ce dont Damis, Maxime, Meragene, et Philostrate. — *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane*, par Pierre Jean Baptiste Le Grand d'Aussy (Paris, 1807), p. 35, avant propos.

Archelaus ascended the throne of Cappadocia 34 B. C. He was the son of a high-priest of the same name, who was deposed by Cæsar. Died, A. D. 17.

⁴ Origen refers to this Life of Apollonius by Mæragenes to prove that he was a magician, and performed miracles by magic.

was a certain man named Damis, who was well read in philosophy, a citizen of ancient Ninus, who became one of the disciples of Apollonius, and who wrote an account of his travels, wherein he set down his opinions, discourses, and predictions:”¹ Julia Augusta became possessed of these commentaries, and as “I was a great deal conversant in the imperial family from the encouragement given by the Empress to rhetoric and its professors, she commanded me to transcribe and revise the commentaries, and pay particular attention to the style and language, for the narrative of the Ninevite was plain and not eloquent. To assist me in the work I was fortunate in procuring the book of Maximus, the Ægean, which contained all the actions of Apollonius at Ægæ, and a transcript of his will, from which it appeared how much his philosophy was under the influence of a sacred enthusiasm; also a collection of letters, and some private memoranda, relative to his conduct and opinions, and, lastly, public records. I also happened to meet with the four books of Mæragenes, which were not of great value on account of the ignorance of the writer. I have now explained the manner of my collecting materials, and the care taken in their compilation.”² Nicomachus³ and Tascius Victorianus⁴ were not, as has been claimed, biographers of Apollonius; they were men of learning, who corrected the copies of Philostratus, as they did those of Livy and other authors;

¹ *Philostrati Opus luculentum vita Apollinii Thyanei philosophi pythagorici*, ad Philip Bervaldum, p. 28.

² *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, translated from the Greek of Philostratus, with notes and illustrations,

by Rev. Edward Berwick, vicar of Leixlip, Ireland (1809), p. 6.

³ Mathematician and Pythagorean, and a contemporary of Philostratus.

⁴ A grammarian and contemporary of Philostratus.

nor was there ever a Life of Apollonius of Tyana compiled by Apollonius Sidonius, as some writers have stated;¹ he only transcribed the works of Philostratus.² Tyana, the birthplace of Apollonius, was a Greek city;³ the capital of Tyanitis, a prefecturate of Cappadocia, and situated on the causeway of Semiramis, about midway from Cæsarea and Tarsus; it was built by Troas, king of Tauro Scythi, and was first named Eusebia, from the worship of Jupiter Asmabæus; the city is chiefly remarkable for being the birthplace of Apollonius — hence he is called Tyaneius.

“Ostendit ad huc Tyaneius illic
Incola de Medio vicines corpore Truncos.”
OVID METAM.—S.

At the period here referred to, Tyana was the metropolis of Cappadocia, which became a Roman province under Tiberius Augustus A. D. 16.⁴ Apollonius was connected with the ancient and honorable families who were the founders of the city, and he bore the same name as his father, from whom he inherited a competency, which was conveyed to him by will, and into the possession

¹ Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i. p. 256.

² Le Cabinet des Antiques de la Bibliothèque impériale possède un contorniate d'une haute antiquité sur lequel est représenté le buste d'Apollonius de Tyane. Les traits sont nobles, la tête porte une couronne, et le corps est revêtu de la tunique et du pallium. Voyez la gravure de ce contorniate dans *L'Iconographie Grecque* de Visconti, planche xvii.—*Apollonius de Tyane*,

sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges, par Philostrate, etc., etc. (A. Chassang), p. v. Intro.

³ All of the coins of the city of Tyana, and there is an unbroken series from Nero to Septimius Severus, 217 A. D., were, with Latin inscriptions and pagan coins, continued to be struck and circulated in Cappadocia six centuries after this period.

⁴ Tacitus died at Tyana, A. D. 276. —*Lares and Penates* (Barker), p. 38.

of which he entered on arriving at age. When he was fourteen years of age, the year in which Augustus died,¹ and the first of the reign of Tiberius, his father

¹ Augustus died on the fourteenth of the calends of September (19 August), A. D. 14, being seventy-six years of age.— Cf. Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars* (Bohn edition, A. D. 1853), p. 145, etc.

The coins of Augustus are very numerous in gold, silver, bronze, and copper, and are confirmatory of nearly all the important events ascribed to his reign, and nearly all of the weaknesses of his character.

It may here at the outset be said of Roman coins in general that they delineate with fidelity and preserve with little variation more portraits of real characters (the portrait of Cicero was from a Roman coin), give more perfect representations of implements, dresses, buildings, and symbols, fix precisely more chronological dates, record a greater number of historical events, and afford better traces of manners and customs than the coins of any other nation.— *Numismata imperatorum Romanorum a Traiano Decio ad Palæologos Augustos accessit Bibliotheca nummaria sive Auctorum qui de renummaria scripserunt Lutetie Parisiorum*, 2 vols. folio (1718), par A. Banduri.

On some of the coins of Augustus he is associated with Julius Cæsar, on others with Lepidus, Agrippa, Tiberius, Julia, Caius, and Julius and Germanicus. And many of these

coins were restored by Claudius, by Nero, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, ROM ET AVG. This was virtually an indorsement of the Augustan administration. On his personal coins Augustus is represented as the "Son of God." A later coin represents him wearing a laurel wreath after the manner of Apollo, inscribed "Cæsar Augustus, Son of God." The usual types of Augustan coins were: *A Bull Walking*, *Head of Augustus* (one of these was restored by Trajan); *Winged Victory*, *Globe*, restored by Nerva. Three brass coins, *Quadriga with Elephants*, restored by Titus, also by Nerva. All the Egyptian coins of Augustus were in Greek. Some bear the *Eagle and Thunderbolt* (common to Syracuse) with the emperor's head and his title as "Son of God." There seems to be some quality on the above coins of Augustus which recommend them to his successors for reproduction, and in the estimate which Apollonius has put upon their characters respectively it is just what we might have anticipated.— Cf. *Traité des finances et de la fausse monnaie des Romains, auquel on a joint une dissertation sur la manière de discerner les Médailles antiques*, etc. (Paris, 1740); also, *Numismata imperatorum Augustorum. et Cæsarum a populis Romanæ ditiones græce loquentibus ex*

carried him to Tarsus¹ to be educated,² and committed him to the care of Euthydemus, the Phœnician, a stoic and a celebrated rhetorician, and where he enjoyed conversation with the disciples of Pythagoras, Plato, Chrysippus, and Aristotle. During the first

omni modulo percussa quibus, etc.

(J. Vaillant, Paris, 1698), 4to.

By a vote of the senate the name of September Sextilis, the sixth month from March, was changed to August, and the period of his life from birth to death was inserted in the calendar under the title of Augustan Age.

The Roman empire in the time of Augustus had attained to a prodigious magnitude. It was bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north it extended to the Danube and the Rhine, on the south to the deserts of Africa. It included nearly all the known world. And the literary fame of this period was more marked if possible than its political.—Cf. *Suetonius*, p. 186.

Although illicit pleasures marked the character of Augustus in his youth, he became temperate after he became emperor, and he tried to check the progress of corruption, but it was in the bosom of his own family that it proved irrepressible. His daughter Julia became so dissolute and such a scandal that he was compelled to banish her.—*Histoire du Luxe Privé et Public depuis l'Auguste jusqu'à nos Jours*, par H. Baudrillart, 4 vols. (Paris, 1880).

¹ *Philostratus*, i. 7.

² Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, was called by Strabo "The Mother of Cities," from its great learning, and St. Paul says it was no mean city. During the period of which we write little is known of this remarkable city of Tarsus; the chain of history appears to have been severed a short period before the Christian era, and the connection not found for a lapse of nearly five centuries. In fact, this is true of nearly all Asia Minor; its history is little more than speculation and hypothesis from B. C. 130 to A. D. 800; although we know from the results and from its surviving coins, medals, and monuments that the period was filled with important events and there was no want of historians to record them.

Tarsus was a Phœnician city; the ancient coins amply attest this truth; there was a coin of Tarsus bearing the decree of Jupiter Tarsus or Baal Tars as is clearly in Phœnician legend sur la Numismatique des Satrapes, et de la Phœnice et la Numismatique et inscriptions Cypriotes.—*Recueil des Monnoies tant anciennes que modernes*, par de Salzade (Bruxelles, 1767), p. 30, etc.

century no place on earth was more tolerant in religious worship than Tarsus. Apollo, Isis, Venus, Jupiter, Serapis, Mercury, Diana, Juno, Pallas, Pluto, Hercules, Adonis, Horus, Pan, Anubis, Æsculapius, were all held sacred, and had their shrines here.¹ Apollonius became attached to his master, but the manners of the city did not please him, so he removed with his master to Ægæ,² a maritime town near Tarsus. Here he was placed under the tutelage of Euxemes of Heraclea, a town of Pontus. He submitted to the authority of Euxemes, and was guided by his advice in the attainment of knowledge; although not having much respect for his philosophy, which was of the Epicurean order, he nevertheless continued to respect him for his many virtues, and afterward gave him a house with a garden and a fountain belonging to it.³

Strabo says that the inhabitants of Tarsus had distinguished themselves so much by their application to

¹ Many of these facts were demonstrated on the coins of Tarsus, as an extant coin of Tarsus bearing the image of Apollo, seated upon a mount with a lyre in his hand, indicating that this deity was the presiding influence in the schools. Apollo was an oracle in Tarsus. Jupiter, Mercury, and Juno are also represented on old coins. Strabo says that Tarsus was founded by Triptolemus, a priest of Argos, in his search for Io, and remains of statues and inscriptions discovered at Tarsus prove that Io was venerated there.—*Lares and Penates, Cilicia and its Governors*, etc. (Wm. Burckhardt Barker, London, 1853), p. 152, etc.

Barker says Tarsus became a Christian city, A. D. 70. The coins of Tarsus go far to disprove this theory; pagan coins were struck up to the 6th century, and no edict was promulgated against them before the 8th century.

² Antiochus, a celebrated Greek sophist, was a native of this town. There is a succession of coins struck at Ægæ from Augustus to Saloninus, which have been of invaluable service to the historian; they are not, however, pertinent, otherwise than generally, to our inquiry. They are in all the metals.

³ *Philostrati opus luculentum de vita Apollonii Thyaneii*, b. i. 48.

philosophy and literature, that this city, in that respect, surpassed Athens or Alexandria. Tarsus possessed schools for every kind of instruction. Among the illustrious men produced by this city are, Antipater, so glowingly spoken of by Cicero; Archimedes and Nestor, stoic philosophers; and the two Athenadori, preceptors of Augustus, also stoics. Augustus sought the friendship of the stoics, and was withheld from many cruelties by the exhortations of stoic philosophers. Another celebrated stoic, Cordylion, was a native of Tarsus; he was librarian of Pergamus, and died in the house of Cato at Rome.¹

When Tiberius² came into power (A. D. 14) he removed Ammianus Rufus, and appointed Valerius Gratus procurator in Judea. He also banished all Jews and Egyptians from Rome, considering them dangerous to the state.³ This decree extended over the whole of Italy according to Suetonius.⁴

¹ The stoic of whom Cicero speaks so glowingly was a native of Tarsus.

² The Life of Tiberius was written in the second century by Dion Cassius, a friend of Philostratus (and who also belonged to the coterie of Julia Domna). He describes him as a man of many virtues and very many vices; both of which he carried to extreme length. Dion and Tacitus agree in their estimate of Tiberius. Velleius Paterculus, a soldier who served under Tiberius in Germany and Pannonia, in the years A. D. 5 and 6, wrote his campaigns in glowing terms. Suetonius, however, has dealt severely with the character of Tiberius.—Cf. *Suetonius*, p. 192 (Bohn ed.)

³ From the expulsion of Archelaus, the ethnarch, A. D. 6, to the death of Augustus, A. D. 14, there were Roman coins struck at Jerusalem commemorating every important historical event; in order not to offend the Jews, they were without effigies. They had uniformly represented upon them *Palms, Dates, Ears of Corn, Cornucopias, and Laurel Wreaths*.—*History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testament*, by Frederick W. Madden (London, 1864).

⁴ Cf. *Suetonii Tranquilli opera et in illa Commentarius Quo Antiquitates Romanæ, tum ab Interpretibus Doctissimis*, etc., vol. i. p. 561.

As Apollonius grew up he became an admirer of Æsculapius, in whose name he is said to have performed some wonderful miracles; and he also began to develop evidences of greatness of character, which so conspicuously marked his future life. He was author of *Four Books on Judicial Astrology*, *A Treatise on Sacrifice*,¹ and many epistles, some of which have been preserved by Philostratus, and others by Cajucius; he was also author of some memoirs.² His only work of importance, which has reached modern times, is his *Apology*, written in reply to Euphrates.³

The Emperor Adrian collected as many of the letters of Apollonius as were accessible, and kept them in the palace at Antium, with a little book of Apollonius concerning the answers he had received from the oracle of Trophonius. This book was accessible at Antium in the time of Philostratus, and it was regarded as the most curious of all things in this little town.⁴ When Apollonius was in his eighteenth year Titus Livius (Livy), whose philosophy (lost) and style of rhetoric he had made his model, died at Padua. He felt severely the loss of his preceptor, and from his frequent mention of this great man proves that he cherished his memory to the end of his life.

¹ This book was quoted by Eusebius; Suidas also refers to it.

² Cf. Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, 2 vols. fol.; also English edition, 4 vols. fol.

³ There seems but little doubt that Apollonius was the author of a voluminous philosophical literature, much of which Philostratus must have had before him in the diary

of Damis. Damis so frequently says that he only preserved — only committed to writing, etc. — the most valuable of the sayings and discourses of Apollonius. — *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, by J. Thomas, A. M., M. D.; art. Apollonius of Tyana.

⁴ Bayle's *Dictionary*.

Although Apollonius is said to have performed miracles in the name of Æsculapius,¹ yet the course of his life to its very close was strictly in accord with that course laid down by Pythagoras to his disciples.² His biographer, however, whether unwittingly or designedly, classed him as a stoic, and we believe very properly; for, in our analysis of the life, sayings, and doings of Apollonius, we find more that conforms to stoicism than any other philosophy, and by association, sympathy, and utterances he was a stoic. Some of the noblest characters of antiquity were stoics; Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 130) was the most consummate production of this philosophy, and it was introduced to him through the writings of Apollonius of Tyana. Aurelius was as virtuous a man as ever appeared on earth. "From Apollonius," said Aurelius, "I have learned freedom of will and understanding, steadiness of purpose, and to look to nothing else, not even for a moment, except to reason." Eutropius, in his abridgment of Roman history, says Marcus Aurelius was trained in his philosophy by Apollonius of Chalcedon.³

Gibbon says: "A superstitious reverence for the countrymen of Apollonius caused Claudius Aurelian

¹ Eusebius casts doubts upon the miracles of Apollonius; yet the early Christians did not deny them. Celsus attributed the miracles of Jesus to sorcery, which he said "influenced only the minds of the ignorant and immoral." Origen replied that, in order to convince himself to the contrary, he has only to read the memoirs of Apollonius, by Mæragenes, who declares him to be

both a philosopher and sorcerer; and yet he swayed the minds of the most learned.

² *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, by C. O. Muller, vol. ii. p. 180.

³ Theophrastus, *Characteres, Marci Antonini, Commentarii; Epicteti Dissertationes ab Ariano Literis Mandatæ, Fragmenta et Enchiridion*. Greek and Latin (Didot, 1842).

(A. D. 273) to treat with lenity the conquered city of Tyana." ¹ Marcus Aurelius has been charged by Christians with causing persecutions, political and religious. In consideration of his integrity and sense of justice, these charges would seem to be untrue. It, however, is certain that he examined into charges against persons accused with an earnestness and honesty of purpose never before known by any Roman ruler; and also that he sentenced reluctantly and with the utmost lenity. "I implore you," said he to the Senate, "to keep my mercy and your own unstained. I beg that no one be put to death, and that the banished be recalled and the fines remitted; would that I could also bid you restore the dead." ² Marcus Aurelius died in camp near where Vienna now stands, some say Belgrade (A. D. 180). When dying he said to his friends around him, "Quid me fletis, et non magis de pestilentia et communi morte cogitatis?" He answered his last attendant with these words, "Turn to the rising sun, for I am setting." ³ While at Ægæ Apollonius heard of the death of his father. He immediately hastened to Tyana, and with his own hands interred him near the tomb of his mother, who had died shortly before. The fortune left by his father was considera-

¹ Vopiscus writes, that as the forces of Aurelian were marching against Tyana, the citizens having shut the gates against him, incensed the emperor so that he declared that he would not leave a dog alive in the city; but the ghost of Apollonius appeared to him in his tent, threatened him into a better mind, and

for Apollonius's sake he spared the inhabitants. — *The Grand Mystery of Godliness*, by Rev. H. More, p. 151 (London, 1660).

² *Vulcatii Gallicanus*, Avidius Cassius, c. xiv. p. 104; also, *Eutropius*, b. 8, c. xx.

³ *Castle St. Angelo*, etc., W. W. Story, p. 18; *Reign of Stoics*, p. 52.

ble, which he divided with his elder brother¹ (now twenty-three) and his relatives.² After his return to Ægæ he converted the temple of Æsculapius into a Lyceum³ and Academy, in which resounded all manner of philosophical disputations. Blount says: "Æsculapius rejoiced to have Apollonius witness his cures." That is, the priests of the temple were exceedingly glad to have so crafty a man as Apollonius in collusion with them; and, according to Pausanias and Strabo, no school was better adapted for the education of an impostor.⁴ I hardly think this applies with much

¹ Philostratus, i. 13.

² There are many events in the career of Apollonius which seem to confirm the theory that he retained a sufficiency of his estate to keep him from want. In his itineraries there are accounts of his borrowing money; the liquidation of these loans must have been from private funds.

³ Lyceum was the name of a school erected by Cicero at Tusculum; it was called so after the school of Aristotle at Athens. The Lyceum at Athens was first built by Pericles, where he taught philosophy. In imitation of this Lyceum at Athens, Apollonius erected one at Ægæ.

⁴ Æsculapius was worshiped as the saviour of mankind.—*Cf.* Deane's *Serpent Worship*, Knight's *Priapus*, Squier's *Serpent Symbol*, Ferguson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

The mint of the Island of Cos produced a coin wherein Æsculapius was called the "Saviour"; and

also on a coin of Ancyra the same type appears. Games were also mentioned in honor of him as "saviour," and always with the serpent about him. ΚΟΣ.—*Namismata Antiquorum silloge populi græcis municipiis et colonis romanis casorum*, etc. (Londini, apud David Mortier, 1708), 4to, p. 168; Humphrey's *Coin Collector's Manual*, 2 vols. pp. 557-593; *Essay Toward a Natural History of Serpents*, by Charles Owen (London, 1742). Another, *Head of Bearded Hercules*, rev. ΚΩΙΟΝ, Crab and Club. Some of these coins had the heads of eminent physicians, all of whom were termed "saviours." "Son of God" and "Saviour" were expressions of so common application to men who had, or who imagined they had, rendered service to humanity that nothing was thought of it. The lower orders of society believed it, and the wise lent themselves to the fraud.

force, inasmuch as he converted the temple into a lyceum; and he also on a former occasion rebuked the young Assyrian who came to the temple to sacrifice for the disease of intemperance.¹ As a stoic, Apollonius's name must be associated with the noblest names of antiquity; and of the five emperors who succeeded Domitian, from A. D. 98 to A. D. 193, namely, Nerva, Trajan,² Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Aurelius, and Commodus, all were pupils of stoicism,—indeed Nerva had been banished by Domitian as a stoic. Hadrian was a pupil of Epictetus. Rev. Richard C. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin,³ says: "The stoic porch was the last refuge and citadel of freedom. During the last century of the republic every patriotic statesman was either a stoic or an admirer of stoicism."⁴ And Lecky⁵ says "that in the Roman empire almost every character, almost every effort in the cause of liberty, emanated from the ranks of stoicism." We therefore find Apollonius an important factor in the succession of a

¹ At this period (A. D. 25) Pontius Pilate was appointed procurator in Judea, with whom the Jews were displeased, and great and incessant tumults arose in consequence at Jerusalem. It was a hot-bed of insurrection, and continued so during the procuratorship of Pilate, who managed to maintain himself, however, for ten years. The history of this period is full of incident. Many of the leaders in insurrection Pilate caused to be put to death, whose names have not been historically announced. Philo Judæus loads his memory with obloquy.

² Centuries later, when Pope Gregory the Great, on reading how Trajan halted his army to do justice to a poor widow, was moved to pray that this one heathen might be delivered from the hell which held all of the rest.

³ In four lectures on *Plutarch, his Life, his Lives, and his Morals* (Macmillan & Co., 1873), p. 92.

⁴ Niebuhr's *Vorträge über Roms die Geschichte*, vol. iii. p. 60.

⁵ *History European Morals*, 2 vols. (N. Y. 1869), vol. i. p. 134.—Cf. *The Similitudes of Demophilus, or Golden Sentences of Democratus*.

race of the noblest men the world has ever produced. And during his own age many were confessedly indebted to his teachings for the purity of their lives. Even Archbishop Trench was reluctantly forced to this confession, that "the stoic school was in some sort the noblest school of philosophy in the ancient world, and had never shown itself so nobly as in the evil times of the empire." The pages of Tacitus show that the great example of Cato was nobly imitated by other Roman stoics.¹ The noble Cleanthes,² who succeeded Zeno (B. C. 260), left us a most charming relic of stoic ethics in the lofty hymn to Jupiter, from which Paul quoted on Mars Hill.³

The emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian found their despotism opposed by the stoics, with a courage which very often rose to martyrdom. Such men as Cornutus, Priscus, Rufus, Apollonius, and others dared look their masters (in brute force), in the face, and say, "Your works are evil and corrupt. It is for us to tell the truth and for you to slay."⁴ During

¹ *The Reign of the Stoics* (Holland), p. 141.

² *History Classical Greek Literature*, vol. i. p. 33.

³ Of his many writings, there is only one remaining.—Cf. *Literary Recreations* (Rev. W. Curd, 1811), p. 10; also, *Reign of the Stoics* (F. M. Holland), p. 225; *Classical Literature: Greek, Sanscrit, and Roman*, by C. A. White, p. 220.

Chrysippus, son of Apollonius Tarsus, a native of Soli, a city of Cilicia, afterward Pompeilis, was a stoic and a pupil of Cleanthes. He

wrote several hundred volumes, and was the greatest logician that ever lived.

⁴ Pagan antiquity, says Lecky, has left us no grander example than that of Epictetus, who, while sounding the very abyss of human misery, and looking forward to death as simple decomposition, was yet so filled with a sense of divine presence that his life was one continued hymn to Providence. The great stoic himself says, "What else can I do, a lame old man, but sing hymns to the gods?"—*Reign of the Stoics*, p. 32.

the reigns of three of the above-named emperors, in the words of Tacitus, "Virtue was a sentence of death." At no period had brute force more completely triumphed; in none was the thirst for material advantage more intense, or vice more ostentatiously glorified. Yet in the midst of all these circumstances, the stoics taught a philosophy which was in no sense a compromise, not an attempt to moderate the popular excesses, but which in its austere sanctity demanded their complete prohibition; this course was the extreme antithesis of what, according to prevailing examples, their interests would dictate. And these men were no impassioned fanatics, fired with the prospects of coming glory or the selfish hope of future personal rewards,—they were men from whose motives of action the belief in the immortality of the soul was resolutely excluded; their impulsion to virtuous acts was for virtue's sake. The later philosophy impels to good acts through promises of future reward. Pliny,¹ perhaps the greatest of all Roman scholars, admitting the sentiments of all that is implied in the school of Epicurus relating to future life, says, that "it is a form of madness, a puerile and pernicious illusion."²

Panætius, the founder of Roman stoicism, maintained that the soul perished with the body, and his opinions were followed by Epictetus and Cornutus.³

¹ Sallust, *Catilina*, etc., c. li.

² See that most impressive passage (*History, Nat.*, vii. 56): The notion of the sleep of annihilation as the happiest end of man, is the favorite thought with Lucretius. Thus,

"Neque igitur mors est
Quam degendem natura animi mortalis habetur."

³ Cf. *De Officiis de Ciceronis, Stoico Diss. Lugd. B.* (1802), vol. iii. p. 567; cf. Stobæus *εκλογικ. Φυσικων και ηθικων* (1575), fol. lib. I, c. lii.

Seneca contradicts himself on this subject. Marcus Aurelius never rose beyond a vague and mournful aspiration.¹

It may be interesting just here as showing more fully the bent of the stoic mind morally, to which Apollonius seemed to have so strong an affinity, to quote a few of their aphorisms. Stoicism was a pure morality stripped of all absurd divine sanction, and was in the main pretty much the same as modern atheism. And, while doubt is expressed in the writings of some of the commentators on Apollonius, whether or not he fully accepted the creed of atheistic stoicism, I think there is a residuum about him which implies more than they credit him for; and then those with whom he is classed, his associates and admirers, all strongly draw us in that direction. Epictetus and Antoninus were originally explicit upon this head. "Whither do you go" (inquired the former) "at death? Nowhere to your hurt: you return whence you came — to a friendly consociation with your kindred elements. That which is of the nature of fire in your composition returns to fire; that which is of earth to earth; that which is of air to air; that which is of water to water." For the professors of this philosophy there was no first cause, no providence, no supreme governor of the world.²

"The stoic rule of life is to be useful and helpful, and

¹ *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (Lecky), p. 102.

² G. R. Cleig, M. A., *The Great Problem, Can it be Solved?* p. 175. In the pages of Philostratus and Eunapius we see the sophists pass in

a long line before us. The same at Athens as at Antioch and Smyrna, and all the other seats of learning and fashion, and for several centuries the characteristic features of their philosophy scarcely change. "Philostratus."

not to look after ourselves alone, but after the individual and common interests of mankind.”¹

“Everything transpires according to law.”²

“It is a foolish thing to pray for that good disposition which you are able to give yourself.”⁴

“Shun that philosophy which pretends to be inspired by the gods, for they who tell you such foolish falsehoods about the deity fill with self-conceit.”⁴

“What is God? The mind of the universe. Where is he? All that you see, and all that you don’t see.”¹

“He who is at peace with himself is at peace with the gods.”¹

“He is best and purest who pardons others as if he sinned himself, daily, but who avoids sinning as if he had never pardoned.”³

“We follow our natural dispositions when we do good.”¹

“First endeavor to gain the knowledge of yourself; when this knowledge is obtained consult the gods, if you please, but in my judgment you will need no oracle if you arrive at an understanding.”⁵

“Purity is part of man’s nature.”³

“The chief end of a natural creature is social life.”²

¹ Seneca. ² Aurelian.

³ Epictetus. ⁴ Philostratus.

⁵ Dion Chrysostom.

There was another system of ethics said to have been extant at the same period. “If any man would be my disciple he must hate his own father, mother, wife, and children, brothers and sisters”; or, “If any man come to me and hate not his father,” etc., etc. And which

charges its disciples, “Into whatever city ye shall enter, and they receive you not, go your ways, shake off the dust of your feet. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom than for that city.” “Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,” etc., etc.—JESUS.

And contrast the Jewish and Christian God with the pagan’s god.

"Even a bad reputation nobly earned is an acquisition."¹

"Those who are over-anxious about the future do not properly use the present."²

"Cause depends upon cause, and all public and private affairs are carried by a long chain of events."²

"How to receive favors from my friends without either feeling humbled or acting ungratefully, and that I should not disregard a friend who finds fault even unreasonably, but strive to restore him to his usual disposition. These were among my lessons from Apollonius."³

"Nature endears man to man."¹

It was Cicero who first uttered the word "Humanitas." With him there was no Jew or gentile, no Greek or barbarian. It was he who pronounced the immortal words, "Charitas Generis Humanæ" and "Totius Complexus Gentis Humanæ." He had no classification,—no sinners, no saints, no heirs of glory, or inheritors of damnation.⁴

"The world is my country."²

"I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." Contrast this with the words put by the Hindu in the mouth of Brahma: "I am the same to all mankind. They who honestly serve other gods involuntarily worship me. I am he who partaketh of all worship, and I am the reward of all worshippers."

¹ Cicero. ² Seneca.

³ Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*,

b. i. secs. 8-13; see also *Thoughts of the Emperor* (M. A. Antoninus), translated by George Long (1869); also, Fronto, *Marcus Aurelius et Theophrastus*; also, Lactantii *Divinarum Institutionum Contra Gentes*, lib. 5, c. iii. (Anno 1660).

⁴ "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel."—JESUS.

"To do good my religion."¹

"Under whatever government his lot is cast man has the family, the duties of a citizen to occupy him, and his philosophy to console him."²

And Herodes Atticus, a man who combined more learning, persuasive eloquence, and humanity than any man of his period, when accosted in the midst of a group of friends by an impostor in the name of stoicism, for something wherewith to buy bread, answered: Be he what he may, let us give him something, if not to him as a man, at least because we are men. "Tanquam homines non tanquam homine."³

Aristotle was once blamed for helping a man who did not deserve it. "It was not the man whom I helped," said he; "it was suffering humanity."⁴

Of this school of practical wisdom and morals Apollonius was a distinguished chief. He maintained that the only good was moral excellence, the only true satisfaction, independence of external circumstances; and consequently held that wealth was an obstacle to the development of virtue; and the whole of his life was

¹ Thomas Paine.

² Apollonius of Tyana, cf. *Hieroclis philosophi stoici in Aurcos Pithagore versus Commentarii* (1551); *Défense du Paganisme*, par l'empereur Julien, avec des disputationes et des notes, par le Marquis d'Argars (Berlin, 1766).

³ Philostratus, *Vitz Sophistarum*; Burigny, *Sur la vie d'Herodes Atticus*.

⁴ And while we may, even in this enlightened age, point with pride to these unparalleled models of moral excellence, we may refer with equal raptures, as lovers of a common hu-

manity, to those immortal pagans and stoics, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Who has not acknowledged the great stagirite as a master? Who has not learned history from Thucydides and Herodotus? Who can say in all respects that he is superior to Xenophon? Where is the orator to take the place of Demosthenes or Cicero? What modern dramatist has excelled Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides? In sculptors' art, who bears the prize from Phidias, Polyclethus, or Callimachus?

spent, and the whole of his teachings are founded, on the idea that all men are called to receive and practice truth. He speaks and acts as a reformer and lover of humanity everywhere,—on the banks of the Euphrates, the Nurbudda, the Nile, in Spain, and in Ethiopia. He had no narrow notions of nationality, no local clique to serve; he came to no chosen people, but to all mankind.¹ As he grew up to manhood he was hailed as the son of Jupiter, and was so declared by every oracle

¹ I can scarcely regard that writer honest who, being familiar with all the vagaries of the Greek, Roman, and Hebrew fable and mythology, passes over without one word of comment (in a moral discussion) that system of ethics which produced such men as Cato, Aurelian, Seneca, Hadrian, Trajan, and Nerva, whose lives and practices were masterpieces of moral excellence for their time; to delve amid the abominations of Hebrew tradition for a miserable apology of a moral code, and even that a starved exotic borrowed from the pagan ethics. When I see men take so much trouble to live in darkness and shed darkness about them; when I see men husbanding the little light struggling to them through a knot-hole and refusing the glorious privileges tendered to them of basking in a sunshine as boundless as the horizon, I can scarcely deem them honest in their professed ignorance.

"School-masters and professors in literature are in affinity with manifest idolatry and sin."—Tertullian's *Christian Ethics*.

"It is a great thing to live in truth and justice with kind feelings even to the lying and unjust.

"It is peculiarly human to love even those who do wrong."—*Stoic Ethics*.

There is no stint of these tenets; volume after volume of them exist, and they are the utterances of men as pure as their literature. They are the noblest and purest books of antiquity. The enemies against which stoicism contended with fearful odds were corrupt princes, political vampires, and the fanaticism of a growing spiritual religion based on miracle. There are those who deride the oracles of Apollonius's incarnation, and who would ridicule to scorn the oracle of the Pythoness of Delphi, extorted by the command of Alexander with drawn sword, "My child, thou art invincible," and yet revere as a divine revelation (oracle) the descent of the dove, the emblem of Dodona, which had wielded the political destinies of Greece and Lybia for centuries when it exclaimed, "This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased."

of Greece ; he, in the meantime, maintained that he was simply the son of Apollonius, a citizen of Tyana. Nevertheless, the evidence that he was a messenger, with a divine commission, is entitled to as much consideration as that of any of the various sons of God who have appeared on earth.¹ To discuss, however, the credibility of miraculous conceptions and births at this age of the world is to offer an insult to the human understanding.

Apollonius now determined to pass five years in silence, according to the Pythagorean code.² This period was passed chiefly in Pamphylia and in Cilicia ; and, although he traveled through provinces whose manners were corrupt and effeminate, and much needed reformation, he never uttered a word, nor did a murmur ever escape him. The method he used in expressing his sentiments during his silence was by his eyes, his hands, and the motion of his head.³ He never seemed morose nor out of spirits, and always preserved an even, placid temper. He complained that this life was irksome, inasmuch only as he had many things to

¹ Worshiped as a God.—Banier, vol. iii. p. 430.

² Silence, or the art of governing the tongue, was a virtue of such consequence with the ancients that they deified it. The Orientals worshiped it under the title of Harpocrates ; the Romans also made it a goddess, and called her Ageronia. The feast instituted in her honor was celebrated on the 21st of December every year. There were statues representing her holding her finger to her mouth.—*The Mythology and*

Fables of the Ancients, etc. (Abbé Banier), vol. iii. p. 135 ; also, *History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, by C. O. Müller, from the German, by Henry Tufnell, Esq., etc. (London, 1839), vol. ii. pp. 184–193.

³ Rev. Gilbert Austin, in his ingenious dissertation on Rhetorical Delivery, has adduced the waving of Apollonius's hand to the corn monopolists, to prove the effects of the eloquence of the hand without the aid of language.

say which he refrained from saying; that he heard many things of a disagreeable nature which he affected not to hear, and when provoked to anger could only say to himself,

“Alas, poor suffering heart, support the pain
Of wounded honor, and thy rage restrain.”¹

In this manner he passed over many mischievous things said against him in dignified silence. This discipline for the human mind the great master Pythagoras fully understood and comprehended, and hence the injunction.

Whenever Apollonius entered a town in a state of tumult or uproar he always pressed forward into the crowd, where, presenting himself, he showed by his countenance and the waving of his hand the reproof he intended to express, and all kept silent, as if engaged in the most mysterious ceremonies of religion. While residing in Aspendus, a city of Pamphylia, on the river Eurymedon, the inhabitants became enraged, and well disposed to insurrection. To this condition they were driven for want of the necessities of life; a famine prevailed in the land, and the monopolists had hoarded all the corn, in order that they might sell it at enormous profits. The people were stirred up against the Governor, whom they believed the cause of their suffering, and were about to burn him alive, even if he were found at the feet of the statue of Tiberius,² which

¹ (Pope's rendering) *Odyssey*, b. xx. l. 18.

² Tacitus says that the statue of Tiberius was a sanctuary, where even the assassin was protected.—*Annals*, b. iii. c. 36.

Suetonius says this custom was carried to so great an extent that it was a capital offense for a man to beat his slave who had an image of Cæsar in his pocket.—*Tiberius*, c. 52.

was then more feared than all the gods, even Jupiter Olympus.

Apollonius approached the Governor, and asked him, by the waving of his hand, the cause which excited the multitude, and of what duty he, as a governor, had been remiss? "In none," replied the Governor; "and I think I could appease them if they would hear me." Then, turning to the multitude, Apollonius by a sign made them understand that the Governor must be heard; on which an immediate silence ensued, the people acting as if in awe of Apollonius. When the Governor saw this he took courage, and commenced haranguing the people, informing them who were the guilty persons who had hoarded up the corn, and produced the present calamity; he also informed them where the corn was concealed. When the Aspendians heard this they began organizing for the purpose of breaking open the repositories, and taking the corn by force. Apollonius admonished them not to act hastily, that their demands would be complied with without the commission of crime. He advised them first to summon the monopolizers, which they resolved to do. As soon as the monopolizers arrived, he was sorely tempted to break through his silence, so great was the provocation to administer a rebuke to these unworthy merchants.¹ However, he respected the law of silence, and wrote his reproof on a tablet, informing them of the excited condition in which he had found the people, and the great risk they ran in thus exposing themselves to the fury of a hungry mob. As soon as

¹ *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane*, par Philostrate, with the Commentaries, given in English, by Charles Blount, vol. i. p. 248.

the speculators saw and understood the position of affairs, and the extremity to which the people were driven, they were but too happy to purchase their personal safety, and that of their property, by opening their store-houses, and filling the markets with corn.¹

As soon, however, as Apollonius had fulfilled, according to the Pythagorean law, his period of silence, he journeyed into Issus and Alexandria, and came to Antioch in Syria, surnamed the Great, situated on the Orontes, and which is classed by Apollonius as the third city in importance of the Roman empire.² At

¹ Quelque apparence qu'il ait que tout cela est de l'invention de Philostrate, en supposant que la chose est arrivée comme il la raconte, elle prouve seulement qu'Apollone étoit un homme adroit et prudent, et qui avoit des manières propres à s'insinuer dans l'esprit du peuple. —Du Pin, *L'Histoire D'Apollone*.

² There is no doubt but that in the study of Greek archæology we are more indebted to Greek coins than any other one thing, the extent and variety of which are marvelous. They were issued in every little town, in every corner of the Greek world, and they are full of information as to ancient religious cults, manners, and arts. M. de Longpérier says: "Coins are serious monuments of public use, bearing on them indications of time and place either quite exact, or at least quite approximate; this is an immense advantage over all other monuments. By studying the types, the style, the inscriptions of coins,

we may gain a key to many other antiquities." The coins of Antioch are the most important, next to the Alexandrian, known to us; not, however, in their variety, but in chronological importance. They are principally of bronze, copper, and baser metal, few only in silver. From the Seleucido, B. C. 37; the Pharsalian era, B. C. 38 to B. C. 22; the Actian era, B. C. 6 to A. D. 13, and the Cæsarian era, from A. D. 55 to the third century, and even of later date, the coins of Antioch prove that city to have remained during that period a pagan center. The types represented on these coins are the city of Antioch personified as a female figure seated on a high rock, from under which issues the river Orontes, personified in the form of a youth in the attitude of swimming. This legend seems fully to establish the pagan era of the city of Antioch. While these are interesting and significant archæological facts, they are not

Antioch he entered the temple of Apollo Daphneus, where it is said that Daphne, the daughter of the river Ladon, was metamorphosed into a tree, and her statue was held in high estimation here.¹ When he entered the temple and perceived that no rational worship was performed there, but everything was in barbarous neglect, he turned his eyes to the Ladon river and cried, "Not only was thy daughter changed, but thou thyself, from having been a Greek and an Arcadian, art become a barbarian."

When it pleased Apollonius, he discoursed to the people of Antioch, but he avoided promiscuous multitudes and places of public resort, for he disliked their rude and disorderly manners; he characterized them as clowns. But he admitted with pleasure into his conversations all who were of good behavior, and yet he

very important as historical testimony, and would have no significance at all were it not that the records of Antioch have been destroyed so thoroughly. There were ancient coins of Antioch with the head of Pallas and the owl, like those of Athens, with whom they claim a common descent. There are a few other types, as: *A Ram Running, Head turned toward a Crescent and Stars*; these are numerous. The art is rude and is wanting in Hellenic refinement. The principal abbreviations on the Roman coins of Antioch are: A. M. B., Antiochiæ Moneta Officina Secunda; A. N. B. or A. N. T. B., Antiochiæ Officina Secunda; A. N. F. F., Annum Novum Felicem Faustum;

A. N. T. P., Antiochiæ Percussa; A. N. T. S., Antiochiæ Signata.—Humphrey's *Coin Collector's Manual*, 2 vols. (London), vol. ii. p. 552.

There was nothing to prevent the Christians of Antioch, if their historians are not in error, to have discontinued striking pagan coins, and coining money with the emblems of their own religion, a thing which did not take place until several hundred years after.

¹ This temple was about thirty stadia from Antioch, and connected by the Heracleian Way, which passed through the gardens with hot springs and fountains, medicinal wells, etc. Apollonius says: "Everything was salubrious and beautiful." Here was also the temple of Apollo and Diana.

admired and spoke in glowing terms of their beautiful city, noted for elegant streets and dwellings and porticoes. One magnificent street traversed the entire city from west to east, about twenty-four stadia in length, partially covered, and called the stoa Herodes. On this was located the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, now being enlarged. It was not finished until Trajan.¹ The people of Antioch at the time were under Cæsar's displeasure, and as a punishment he had by an edict closed the hot baths. Apollonius said that by a forfeiture of this right for their wickedness the king had unwittingly taken means for preserving their health and prolonging their lives; for he believed hot bathing beyond a moderate indulgence detrimental to health. "All these things, and many others not here enumerated in consequence of the vagueness of the tradition and a want of proper data," says Philostratus, "were collected from monuments and records of cities, temples, and from tradition."²

The state of the country under the artful and suspicious Tiberius, and the infamous Sejanus, was such that all persons professing philosophy or virtue were looked upon and treated as enemies of the empire.³ The eloquent and accomplished stoic philosopher Attalus, of whom Seneca was a pupil, had been banished through the influence of Sejanus; Drusus had been permitted to die of poison, and the virtuous Cordus,

¹ Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, lib. i.; (1690); *Trajecti ad Rhenum*, vol. i. Chas. Blount, vol. i. p. 62; cf. *Caji* p. 759.

Suetonii Tranquilli Opera et in illa ² *Philostratus Vita*, p. 30.

Commentarius, Samuelis Pitisci. ³ Cf. *Suetonii Tranquilli. Tiberius, Nero, Cæsar*, vol. i. p. 561.

historian and stoic, who had written the history of Rome during the reign of Augustus, which gave him immortality, had just been doomed to die, and his work, which was then very popular and largely circulated among the learned, ordered to be burned by the Ædiles. His daughter Marcia, however, managed to preserve one copy at the risk of her life, which was reproduced and multiplied. It is now, unhappily, lost.¹ In consequence of this very unstable state of affairs in the empire, Apollonius was fully alive to the necessity of moving about with great caution.²

During the latter part of this reign, A. D. 28, however, Tiberius retired to the island of Capreæ,³ which he made a nest of impurity and debauchery. He had ingeniously contrived apartments especially adapted to abominable lewdness to inflame the languid appetite. In short, his foulness is not fit to be mentioned or heard of, and ought not to be credited.⁴ The little respite from his bestial life was spent in building arches, erecting columns, and in robbing the whole world of art works to adorn this island for the admiration of pros-

¹ *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, wife of Germanicus*, by Elizabeth Hamilton, 2 vols. (London, 1811), vol. ii. p. 246.

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, had also been murdered, and Drusus, her son, was starved to death, A. D. 33.

² This reign of Tiberius, which terminated, A. D. 37, in murder, is especially rich in coin, and they confirm the important events of his reign. They are of gold, silver, bronze, and brass. Some of them

are of the greatest historic value, and have obtained the highest rarity; many of them were restored by Titus, Domitian, and Trajan. The restored coins are difficult of detection.—*Strabonis*, xvi. 738; *Imperatorum Romanorum numismata*, p. 86.

³ One of the most delightful islands on earth, just outside the Bay of Naples. It had also been the sumptuous residence of Augustus.

⁴ Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman History*.—Wilson, b. vii. c. 8.

titutes, thieves, and assassins. This wholesale robbery of works of art and virtue committed by the emperors Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero to adorn their favorite cities was the principal cause of the hatred of Apollonius to the Romans. They spared nothing; statues, books, columns, shrines, and even entire temples were removed from Greece to adorn the despised capital. Claudius afterward, with a chivalry utterly out of character for a Roman emperor, ordered the celebrated Cupid in bronze, by Lysippus, which had been stolen by Caligula, restored to its temple in Thespiæ. Nero spared no place except Rhodes. And yet so prolific had been Greek art that Pliny says: "There still remained at Athens after Nero's spoliation three thousand statues and nearly as many at Olympia and Delphi."¹ While at Capreæ (A. D. 32) Tiberius became aware of the treason of Sejanus; his villainy he had never doubted.² He was arrested in the senate chamber, whither he had repaired to receive new honors from the emperor; he was loaded with chains, and as he was carried along the streets the populace became frantic in their joy at his fall; they reviled and derided him.³ He was strangled by the hands of the very executioner he had so often employed in similar service. The satisfaction of Apollonius was great at this deserved end of a most infa-

¹ But not in Athens, nor in any part of Greece, did the spoliation of the emperors compare with the utter destruction of works of art by the early Christians in their hatred of idolatry. Nero and Domitian stole and appropriated them because of their love of art. The Christians

destroyed them in barbarous ignorance.

² Tiberius well knew that no man could strike fire with a feather; hard service required hard tools. This was his reasoning in securing the services of Sejanus.

³ Suetonius, *Tiberius*, i. 16.

mous and dreaded tyrant. Matters, however, did not change much for the better, and Apollonius believed it safer to extend rather than to contract the distance from a ruler of whom he could utter no word of praise, and whose infamous life seemed only spared for the commission of crime.¹ But all things must have an end, and Tiberius's licentious, incestuous life closed, A. D. 37, aged 78, and Caligula, his murderer, became his successor at the age of 25. Affairs were somewhat improved by this change, and the people breathed with more freedom, although Caligula was, by admission, half, if not quite, a madman; he declared "that Jove had invited him to become his contubernalis or comrade, but his determination was to become Jove's rival." He squandered the vast wealth left by Tiberius, \$85,000,000, in one year. Over \$300,000 was spent in one supper. Thus the old corruption was rooting itself afresh in Rome.²

Apollonius, in the meantime, went about from city to city and from temple to temple, keeping himself well informed of all matters at the capital, but to all appear-

¹ Cf. Suetonius *Tranquillus*, p. 172, *et seq.*

² Caligula often appeared abroad habited like a woman, sometimes in silks; at other times in the crepidæ or buskins, or in the sock used by women, and commonly with a golden beard fixed to his chin, holding a thunderbolt in his hand, a trident, or a caduceus, marks of distinction belonging to the gods only. Sometimes, too, he appeared in the habit of Venus. He wore very commonly the triumphal orna-

ments, even before his expedition, and sometimes the breast-plate of Alexander the Great, taken out of his coffin. He was so fond of singing that he could not refrain in the theater from singing with the tragedians. And the very day on which he was slain it was thought that he intended to take advantage of the licentiousness of the season and make his first appearance on the stage.—Suetonius (Bohn ed.), *Caligula*, lib. iv. p. 287.

ances giving no attention to political affairs. Whenever he visited a city which happened to be of Greek origin and was in possession of an established code of religious worship, he called together the priests and discoursed to them on the nature of their gods and the discipline of their temples, and if he found that they had departed from the ancient and usual forms he always set them right. But when he came to a city where religious rites and customs were barbarous and with immoral tendencies, he inquired by whom they were established and for what they were intended and in what manner they were observed (A. D. 30),¹ at the same time suggesting whatever occurred to him as better, more becoming, and more adapted for the general good; this he sometimes did by private advice to the priests; at others by public discourses.

Legrand D'Aussy says Apollonius was "Écrivain profond, orateur éloquent, moraliste sévère, prédicateur fervent, apôtre enthousiaste; cet homme extraordinaire eut tout ce qui subjugue les esprits, tout ce qui appelle la confiance et l'estime, tout ce qui commande l'admiration."

Wherever Apollonius in his travels found devotees of virtue and morality associated for the promotion of the true philosophy, he commanded them to ask what they pleased, assuring them that those who cultivate the virtues and the true philosophy ought in the morning commune with the gods concerning the matters of

¹ Strabo, the geographer and historian, a native of Pontus, died about A. D. 30. He was a grave and solid writer, a great traveler, and a stoic. He refers to the prevailing superstitions of his day. He is silent concerning Christianity.

the gods, and in the evening, of human affairs. When he had answered all questions of friends and talked as much as he deemed sufficient he then addressed the multitude, with whom he always discoursed in the evenings, but never before noon. In this manner of occupation his time was employed many years at Antioch and surrounding cities up to A. D. 40.¹

The ample means which Apollonius had secured by the death of his father gave him facilities for gratifying a passion which had pursued him from his youth up, to travel in foreign countries, study their institutions, and converse with their wise men. This resolution he now communicated to his disciples, seven in number, who endeavored to dissuade him from his design. But he had determined to go, and giving them good advice, commending them to the study of philosophy, he bade them farewell, and, accompanied by two faithful and expert scribes of his own family, he set out for India, to communicate with the Brachmans and Gymnosophists, being by his own showing yet a young man. Caligula,² who had obtained from Nocereus, son of

¹ During the year A. D. 40 the Jews of Egypt sent Philo on an embassy to Rome to represent their grievances to Caligula (the grievances of Alexandrian Jews, none other). Philo was a Platonist, although by birth and faith a Jew, born in Egypt; he was a man of unblemished character and a writer of great note, and a man of learning. Caligula would not give audience to their complaints, and Philo withdrew. Philo wrote on all the extant religions of his day except Christi-

anity. He died about A. D. 50, having never heard of Christianity.

² The coins of Caligula, although of elegant workmanship, bear out the charge of infamy against him; his three sisters, with whom he is said to have been criminally intimate, appear on nearly all his coins. The first bronze coins of his reign, which confirm his imperialism, are extremely rare; the senate called them in in execration of his memory. They bear the inscription "*Caius the God*."

Sesostris, king of Egypt, the obelisk in Heliopolis, and spent three years of his reign in removing it to Rome and setting it up in the Vatican Circus, who had attempted to suppress the poems of Homer, Virgil, and Livy, and abolish the profession of law, whose reign had been one continued scene of debauchery, who as pontifex maximus (pope) was the first to introduce the servile custom to Roman citizens of presenting his foot to be kissed, had just fallen beneath the dagger of the tribune, Cassius Chærea¹ (A. D. 41), and had been succeeded by his uncle Claudius at the age of fifty, whose wife, Messalina, the imperious daughter of Germanicus, was a woman above all her sex the most magnificent in sin, a first-century Catherine de Medici, and who contributed largely to the infamy of this reign. And although Claudius added Great Britain and the Orcades to the Roman empire and had a son whom he named Britannicus, his reign was inauspicious for any great achievements to the welfare of the Roman people.²

¹ On the 24th of January, A. D. 41, it is said that Chærea came up behind Caligula while he was talking with some boys of noble extraction who had come to Rome to act, and gave him a heavy blow on the neck with his sword, crying out at the same time, "Take this." That then a tribune named Cornelius Sabinus ran him through the breast. As he lay on the ground crying out that he was still alive, the other conspirators dispatched him with thirty wounds. Immediately afterward his body-guard came running in and killed some of the conspirators

and also some senators who had no concern in the affair.—Cf. *Suetonius*, p. 291 (Bohn ed., 1855); also *Tacitus*; also *Eutropius*, b. vii. c. 12.

² *Suetonii Opera*, vol. ii. p. 1 (1590 A. D.); *Eutropius*, b. vii. c. 13.

For the acquisition of Britain both emperor and son were honored by the senate with the title Britannicus, and coins were struck (and medals commemorating the event) in silver and gold, having a laureated head of Claudius on the obverse with the inscription TI. CLAUD CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIIMP. XI. Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Pontifex

The account of the journey of Apollonius into India, which was compiled by Philostratus from the journals of Danis of Ninus, a disciple who never for one moment left the side of his master, constitutes the most interesting and valuable portion of the book of his life, inasmuch as he was the first Greek who had visited India for purposes other than conquest or commerce,¹ his object being to make himself familiar with the religious rites, discipline, and doctrines of the Hindoo philosophers;² and as he traveled without a retinue above his three companions, and was otherwise unencumbered, he was welcomed and entertained by the kings and wise men of the country, and had every opportunity of familiar intercourse with all classes of its population. He was, therefore, circumstanced to acquire much accurate and valuable information beyond the reach of ordinary travelers. He went by way of Babylon and Susa, in order that he might meet and

maximus Tribunitia potestate sextum imperator undecimum.

Of the Roman coins found in Britain of the first century, there are seven of Augustus; one of Agrippa; two of Tiberius; one of Antonia (wife of Drusus); two of Caligula; fifteen of Claudius; eleven of Nero; thirteen of Vespasian; one of Titus; ten of Domitian, and one of Nerva.—*Cf. Landi, Selectionum numismatum præcipue Romanorum, expositiones* (1695), p. 142.

¹ This would seem questionable, for Apollonius declares the Hindoos already familiar with Homer and teach his writings to their children.

Dion Chrysostom (*De Homero Oratio*, i. iii. 272, ii. Riecke), contemporary with Plutarch and a friend of Apollonius, insists in a panegyric upon Homer upon his wide-spread reputation; for his poems, it is said, are sung by the Indians, who have translated them into their own language. I think, however, that the Ramayana and the Mahabharatta have been mistaken for imitations or copies of Homer, while they are more probably (certainly) the originals whence Homer drew and which he naturalized and clothed in Greek garments.

² John Henry Newman, vol. i. p. 343.

converse with the Persian Magi.¹ Damis became his companion and disciple at Ninus on the Euphrates,² between Antioch and Zeugma. At Zeugma the customs were collected from those passing and repassing from Syria into Mesopotamia. "Nature seems," said Apollonius, "to have marked the Euphrates as the *ultima thule* of Roman dominion, and 'terminas' may be transcribed upon the portals of the bridge at Zeugma." Mesopotamia is bound by the Tigris on the east and Euphrates on the west; these two rivers run out of Armenia and the farthest parts of Mount Taurus, and encompass the country, in which are some cities and many villages.³ They spent but little time in this country, but pressed on from the Euphrates to the Tigris; and, after passing beyond the Ctesiphon, they entered the territory of Babylon, where Apollonius was met by the king's guard and commanded to halt. We shall go no further with Apollonius on his Indian journey, the translated account of which, in Rev. Edward Berwick's *Life of Apollonius*, occupies one hundred and eighty-three pages of closely printed matter. It is nearly one-half the entire book. It is also set forth at large, and specially in Priaulx's *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, etc. (Quaritch, London, 1873). We shall be prevented, through a necessary economy of space in this sketch, doing more than occasionally referring to this interesting journal, it also being not quite pertinent to the purposes of our book.

¹ Cf. *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, by Priaulx (Quaritch, London). on the Tigris. The journal of Damis begins at Zeugma.

³ *The Indian Travels of Apol-*

² This could not have been Ninus *lonius of Tyana*, etc., p. 3, *et seq.*

“But why need we stoop to particulars?” says Rev. H. More, in his book, *The Grand Mystery of Godliness*, etc. “The whole life of Apollonius was nothing else than a lofty strutting on the stage of the earth or an industrious trotting from one nation of the world to another, to gather honor and applause to himself by correcting the customs of the heathen or renewing their fallen rites.

“Besides, the bold visits he made to princes and potentates with the greatest confidence and ostentation of his own virtues that could be imagined, and this unexpected audacity of his proved ever successful, and he managed somehow to swagger himself into respect: so that he was ever ‘haile fellow well met’ with the highest kings and emperors, they being ever taken with great admiration of his wisdom. He was lodged in their palaces, and shown the pomp and glory of their kingdoms. They offered him great sums of money and precious stones, which he claims to have refused. And then his intermeddling into the affairs of the Roman empire; his lengthy political conference with Vespasian in Egypt; his abetting conspiracies against Nero and Domitian; his learned discourses with the Babylonian Magi;—all prove him to be a man of great lip-wisdom and conceit.”¹

Some who have investigated this subject have expressed doubts of Apollonius ever having visited India at all. But the account of Damis is so minute in detail and exact in description, and bears such evidence of artless honesty and truthfulness, that we are convinced on reading it that it could have been written by none

¹ More's *Grand Mystery of Godliness*.

other than an eye-witness.¹ Many of the places and events described and related by Damis were never heard of in Greece before the visit of Apollonius, the truth of which modern research has confirmed.² He

¹ Cf. A. Chassang's *Apollonius de Tyane* (Paris, 1862).

² Cf. Führmann, W. D., *Historische Untersuchung über die Begräbnissplätze der Alten, besonders über Deutschen, und Fortgang die Gewohnheit unter den Christen die Leichen innerhalb der Städte und in den Kirchen zu beerdigen.* (1801.)

In a work published in 1731, called *Gray's Gunnery*, we find the following as quoted by Captain Francis Grose: "In the *Life of Apollonius*, written by Philostratus about fifteen hundred years ago, there is the following passage concerning the people of India, called Oxydra. 'These truly wise men dwelt between the rivers Hyphasis and Ganges. Their country Alexander the Great never entered, deterred not by fear of the inhabitants, but, as I suppose, by religious considerations; for had he passed the Hyphasis, he might doubtless have made himself master of the country all around them; but their cities he never could have taken, though he had had a thousand as brave as Achilles or the thousand such as Ajax brought to the assault; for they came not out into the field to fight those who attacked them, but their holy men, beloved by the gods, overthrew their enemies with tempests and thunderbolts from the walls.' "

It is said that the Egyptian Hercules (*A New System, or an Analysis of Antient Mythology*, etc., by Jacob Bryant, Esq., vol. ii. p. 345) and Bacchus, when they overran India, invaded this people also, and, having prepared warlike engines, attempted to conquer them. They made no show of resistance; but upon the enemy's near approach to their cities they were repulsed with storms of lightning and thunder hurled upon them from above. In a book entitled *The Gunner*, printed in London in 1664, it is observed that Uffana states that "the invention and use as well of ordinance as of gunpowder was in the eighty-fifth year of our Lord made known and practiced in the great and ingenious kingdom of China, and that in the maretyme provinces thereof there yet remain certain pieces of ordinance, both of iron and brasse, with the memory of their years of founding engraved upon them, and that arms of King Vitney, who, he saith, was the inventor."

Maurice, also speaking of the prowess of the Hindoos in war, says: "The missile weapons darted by these sages in noise and effect resembled lightning and thunder." These must have been the fire-rockets described in the sketches of the Hindoos.—*History of Hindoo-*

speaks of the ancient — ancient in his day — commercial relations existing between the Egyptians and the Hindoos,¹ and quotes from laws enacted for the protection of navigation. He describes ancient ships of the Egyptians and their pilots, and that it took many hands to manage their sails; that part of the crews were armed to defend themselves against pirates. Modern research has confirmed all these things. He describes the system of astronomy of the Hindoos, a system at that time unknown in Greece, and which John Bentley of the Asiatic Society has fully explained in his work called *A Historical View of the Hindoo Astronomy from the Earliest Dawn in India*, etc. (Smith, Elder & Co., 1825). Apollonius is said to have visited Barygaza, a city of great commerce in his day, situated on the Nurbudda River, and supposed to have been the Tarshish of Solomon. He visited all their temples, made himself familiar with their philosophy, mode of worship, and the nature of their gods. Six hundred years before the time of Apollonius, Buddha had held forth in these same sacred temples of Barygaza.

It was through these Indian itineraries of Apollonius that a renewed impulsion was given to the Hindoo element pervading the religion and philosophy of Greece; for long anterior to Apollonius, Buddhism and Brahmanism were known and their influence felt in Asia Minor, in Alexandria, in Greece, and in all the Oriental parts of the Roman empire.² The founding of the

stan; its Antiquity and Sciences as connected with the other great Empires of Asia, 2 vols. (Thos. Maurice, 1795), vol. ii. p. 652.

¹ Bryant's *Antient Mythology*, vol. iv. p. 373, *et seq.*

² H. A. Daniel, *Theologische Controversen* (1843).

great library and museum of Demetrius Phalerius made Alexandria the great center of art, science, literature, and religion, whence it radiated to all the eastern world. That beautiful Hindoo allegory, the tenth incarnation of Christna, the Saviour of the Maha race, lost but little in the land of its adoption, the prophecies concerning his coming—the miraculous conception of his mother Mary—being overshadowed by the great god Brahm. The manger, the shepherds, have all been reproduced in Judea; Cansa, the king and uncle of the child, seeking to destroy him, and ordering all the male children to be slain; the warning to his mother in a dream; the flight out of the country and remaining until the death of those who sought the child's life, are all coincidences too striking to be purely accidental, and are too familiar to every Christian ear to be recited in detail.¹

¹ *History of Hindoostan : Its Arts and its Sciences as connected with the other great Empires of Asia during the most ancient period of the world*, by the author of *Indian Antiquities* (Thomas Maurice), 2 vols. quarto (London, 1798), vol. ii. p. 311, etc.; *La Bible dans l'Inde, Vie de Jezus Christna*, par Louis Jacolliot (Paris, 1869), p. 273; *Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man*, by S. F. Dunlap (New York, Appleton & Co.), p. 157, etc.; *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, George W. Cox, M. A., 2 vols. (Longmans, Greene & Co., London, 1870), vol. ii. p. 102; *The History of India, Hindu, Buddhist, and Brahmanical*, by J. Talboys Wheeler (Trübner & Co., 1874), pp. 67, 366, 376, etc.; *Esays and Lectures, chiefly on the Religion of the Hindoos*, by the late H. Wilson, M. A., F. R. S., 2 vols. (Trübner & Co., London, 1874), vol. ii. pp. 10, 264; cf. *Asiatic Researches, or Translations of the Society instituted in Bengal for Inquiring into the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia*, 6 vols. (1779); cf. *Indian Antiquities, or Dissertations Relative to the Ancient Geography, Coined Money, Literature, etc., etc., of Hindoostan*, 7 vols. (London, 1800); *Tree and Serpent Worship, or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries after Christ, from the Sculptured Topes of Sanchi and Amravati*, by James Ferguson (London, 1873), second edition, p. 74, etc.

The miracles said to have been performed by Christna during his mission being almost identical with those attributed to Apollonius, were all well known and discussed in Alexandria at this time, and leave but little credit for originality to attach to the miraculous performances of Apollonius. And although Apollonius never encouraged the propagation of the story of his divine nature, yet he never emphatically repudiated it, knowing that but little respect attached to the person or teachings of any philosophy with the vulgar multitudes unless founded on the evidence of divine inspiration, the demonstration of which was miracle; and he appears to have allowed the vulgar populace to believe this.¹

Of all the dogmas which have permeated the religions of all times and all countries, ancient or modern, none is more universal than the sonship of the gods;² for as the ages progressed to that period when men could no longer persuade their deluded satellites that they were gods, they accepted the less illogical dogma of sons of God, and some, that although only sons, were co-equal with the father.

Again reverting to Judea, we find that on the death of King Agrippa, A. D. 44,³ Claudius appointed Cuspius Fadus as procurator at Jerusalem. So much importance was attached to the performance of miracles in Judea at this period, that Fadus beheaded one Theudas who created a public disturbance in an effort to perform a miracle by dividing the Jordan.

¹ The vanity and egotism of Jesus in pressing his claims as "son of God," and the fawning servility with which he ratified his title, mark him as a man of low origin.

² Cf. *Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man*, by S. F. Dunlap (1858).

³ Assassinated by a tribune who commanded his guard.—*Suetonius*, p. 208.

After the journeyings of Apollonius in India, which probably did not extend beyond the reign of Claudius, from A. D. 41 to A. D. 54, he returned to his native country by the Erythræan Sea, Babylon, thence to Ninus and to Antioch, in the northern part of Syria, where he had formerly resided.¹ This magnificent city, for many years the residence of the Macedonian kings and Roman governors, was subsequently noted as being the "Eye of the Eastern Christian Church," and the witness of ten ecclesiastical councils. It is here that the name Christian is said to have been first applied to the followers of Jesus.² This christening of the new creed must have taken place during Apollonius's first stay in Antioch, which extended to 41 A. D., and during a period in which he was delivering lectures upon divine matters, and informing himself upon all religious subjects in the province. It is strange he did not mention the rumor of the new schism.³

¹ A. Chassang, *Apollonius de Tyane* (Paris), p. 138.

² We have no historical evidence of the period when they were so called. In Theodoret's *History of the Church*, b. 1, c. xxiii., he says that the groves of Daphne in the neighborhood of Antioch, once sacred to Apollo, were in A. D. 357 dedicated to the church. These were the grounds on which stood, in time of Apollonius, the magnificent temple of Apollo Daphnæus.

³ That the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch (a heathen city) about A. D. 43, rests upon the sole authority of the book of Acts, which Dr. Davidson con-

cedes was not written earlier than A. D. 125. But there is no positive proof that it was written as early as A. D. 200. Therefore its value, as establishing the fact about Antioch, is quite apparent.—*Revelations of Antichrist*, p. 98.

It is a great pity that we have no more reliable data concerning this interesting city; nearly all the records concerning it stop short and abrupt just before the Christian era. And Antioch the great, the second city of the Roman empire, the oldest Christian city on earth, is blotted from the page of history for over five hundred years, for it does not appear again until the middle of the

Apollonius spent several months in Antioch, A. D. 48, just after the great earthquake, during the reign of Claudius. He describes minutely the habits and religion of the people; he says they were indolent, indulging in every species of idle merriment, and were extremely superstitious, leaving no room for the pursuits which are held in high estimation by the Greeks. The city was supplied with magnificent temples; the one to Jupiter was the most famous out of Rome. One of its great retreats for pleasure was the cypress grove of Daphne,¹ about twenty stadia from the city, hence ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ. At this time work was progressing upon the stately Selucidian theatre.

The dissolute morals of the city were so distasteful to Apollonius that he determined not to remain, and he immediately departed for Seleucia, the seaport of Antioch.² His journey was down the Heracleian Way (Ἡρακλέων) which passes among beautiful villas and

fifth century. There is a record of an earthquake there A. D. 37; another during the reign of Claudius, and another A. D. 115. But everything resembling consecutive history has been carefully laid aside beyond the reach of the historian.—See *Encyclopædia Brit.*, art. Antioch. The stories of the great splendor of Antioch, of its palaces and triumphal arches, sacred images in the groves, and costly pictures and statues in private apartments, are tantalizing in their meagerness, and yet, gleaned from the poets and other pagan sources, its general features may be discerned enough to confirm its greatness.

¹ *Mythology and Fable* (Banier), i. 345.

² This city was built by Seleucus Nicator, who had determined making it the capital of his new kingdom. It was dedicated to the thundergod, Jupiter Fulminans Seleucensium, and this was the Jupiter Tonans of the Romans. Imperial Greek coins were issued at Ephesus and Seleucia without intermission from Augustus to Septimius Severus, with the type of "thunderbolt and flame," and pagan coins circulated without discount in these places seven hundred years after Apollonius.

fountains; he spent his first night in the temple of Apollo and Diana, situated in the grove of Daphne; here was a colossal statue of Apollo, the work of Bryaxis.¹ The next day he reached Seleucia, forty stadia distant, and proceeded at once to the port² and took passage in a vessel bound for Smyrna. He embraced the time occupied in taking in cargo to visit the city, the walls of which were about forty stadia in extent, with two gates, one opening to the port and the other on the Heracleian Way toward Antioch. The aqueduct which supplied the city with water Apollonius describes as a stupendous structure; the most remarkable he had ever seen. The next morning, before daylight, they put to sea in tempestuous weather, but with a fair wind, and in the afternoon of the same day made the island of Cyprus. Cyprus (Κύπρος) was the birth-place of Zeno, the father of stoicism. He was born at Citium, but early in life settled in Athens. There was another Zeno, a stoic, he was a Sidonian; and still another, of Tarsus, son of Dioscorides. Zeno, the Greek physician mentioned by Galen, was also probably a stoic, as well as Zeno the historian of Rhodes, and Zeno of Caria, a Greek sculptor.

Cyprus, more especially than any part of the East, had passed through great vicissitudes of fortune, having had successively Egyptian, Phœnician, Persian, and again Egyptian masters.³ It was now a Roman pro-consular province attached to Silicia. Apollonius says the early

¹ This is confirmed by the extant coins of Antiochus Epiphanes. this basin was entirely artificial, and was excavated to make shelter for shipping.

² A basin 2000 feet long, 1200 feet wide, occupying an area of 47 acres; ³ Lang's *Cyprus*, p. 13.

history of Cyprus is obscure and imperfectly known, and many vague traditions have gained currency there from an ignorance of its monuments, its medals, its obelisks, and the language in which its annals are recorded,—he scoffed the old tradition that Cyprus was separated from Syria by an earthquake.¹

¹ Cyprus, in the archaic period, was the most noted country in the East. It was the seat of civilization and refinement when Europe was wild and barbarous, and it is from here that Greece undoubtedly derived much of her culture and religion, as Cyprus no doubt secured hers from Egypt. Cyprus has long been noted among classical writers as a principal seat of the worship of the goddess Aphrodite, identical with the Phœnician Astarte, the Ashtaroth of the Bible, and better known as the Paphian or celestial Venus. But the island was inhabited by many peoples and races; the modern researches of General di Cesnola have brought to light statues and other relics of the worship of Cybele Demeter, Parsalia, and the Phœnician Hercules, the Moloch of Scripture, and the Kronos of Grecian mythology; Egyptian tombs, symbolical figures, and pottery were also exhumed. The city of Paphos, now Paleopaphos, as distinguished from New Paphos, was situated about fifty stadia, or six miles, from the port, or New Paphos. The name arose in this wise: Pygmalion, a famous statuary, formed a beautiful image of a virgin in ivory, with which

he became so deeply enamored that he treated it as a real mistress, and continually solicited Venus by prayers and sacrifices to animate his beloved statue. His wishes were granted, and by this enlivened beauty he had a son called Paphos, who gave his name to the city of Paphos in Cyprus. The worship of the goddess was of the most lascivious character, being the same as that accorded to Mylita.—*Ovid*, lib. x. 245; cf. *A New Pantheon of the Heathen Gods*, etc., by S. Boyse (London, 1753), p. 103; *Tacitus*, p. 384; Knight's *Ancient Art*, etc., p. 154; also, *Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples: A Narrative of Research*, etc., by General Louis Palma di Cesnola. Like the city of Antioch, but little is known of the island of Cyprus, except through the writings which have escaped destruction, as those of Apollonius. The early history of Cyprus is pretty succinctly told up to 130 B. C.; from that period there is nothing reliable related of it, except the record of destructive earthquakes until the fifth century, A. D. The destroying angel had made pretty effective work with the history of this island; during this historic

It had been the intention of Apollonius to visit the ancient port and city of Salamis, on the east end of Cyprus, and verify the Greek tradition of Teucer, son of Telemon, the Trojan hero,¹ and thence to proceed by land to Paphos, visiting ancient Citium,² Curium, the sacred temple of Apollo Hylates, and the Phœnician city of Amalthus; and this port they were approaching, but a violent gale from the east prevailing,

interim there are some traditions of the great work and great miracles wrought through Christianity. But all reputable historians give these traditions a wide margin.

Pomponius Mela, author of *De Situ Orbis*, an unreliable though prolific writer, left no testimony concerning Christianity.—Cf. *Heathen Records to Jewish Scripture History*, etc., by Rev. Dr. Giles, p. 90; see also di Cesnola's great work (*Harpers*, 1878).

¹ *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. iv. p. 249.

² Cf. Lang's *Cyprus*, p. 24.

Little is known of this ancient town. It issued coins down to the time of the Ptolemies, and although Smith's *Dictionary* says "they did not coin money," R. Hamilton Lang, formerly British Consul for Cyprus, has several in his possession bearing the letters K. I., indicating that they belong to Citium.—Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, etc., vol. ii. p. 196.

Upon certain coins of Cyprus we find the "simulacrum" of Venus, as described by Tacitus and Maximus Tyrius. The coins of Cyprus

united Greek art and Phœnician language and Egyptian superstitions. They were engraved by the Greek, inscribed in Phœnician letters,—on one side the bull *Apis*, with the symbol of life; on the other, the dove. Apollonius says their religion was a mixture. The pieces of Augustus, Livia, and Drusus, without naming the island, but with the temple of Venus Paphia, have Latin legends; those of Claudius, Latin and Greek legends; all later pieces are entirely Greek.—*Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum*, etc. (J. Vaillant, 1694), p. 38.

The coins of Cyprus are of the highest numismatic interest; they represent six different kingdoms of the island. They are also important religious records, the most ancient having a large Phœnician element, then Babylonian and Egyptian.—*Cyprus: Its History, its Present Resources and Future Prospects*, by R. Hamilton Lang (London, 1878), p. 352; *Cyprus: A New System, or an Analysis of Antient Mythology*, etc., by Jacob Bryant, 6 vols. (London, 1807), vol. i. p. 283.

the commander, deeming it unsafe to risk his vessel in so open and exposed a roadstead as Salamis, again stood out to sea, and before dark had passed the Pedalion (now Cape Greco), and early the next day anchored in the port of Paphos.¹ On debarking at New Paphos, Apollonius and his disciples proceeded to Paphos at once, about twenty stadia from the port. Paphos had during the reign of Augustus been nearly destroyed by an earthquake, but had been rebuilt by the munificence of the emperor.² They visited the temple and statue of Venus (the latter consisted of a conical stone only³), and having instructed the priests of the inner court of the temple in many things, Apollonius deemed it unwise to remain longer, in consequence of the unsettled state of the weather, and took his departure for the port.

With the rites performed in the inner court of the temple of the celestial Venus, Apollonius expressed himself satisfied in the highest degree. No blood of bulls or goats or any living creature ever stained the altar of this temple. But with the feast of Mylitta,⁴ an accessory performed without and in the vestibule of the temple, he was strong in condemnation. This rite did not of right belong to the worship of the goddess, but was a Babylonish sacrament imposed upon it. The

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 139.

² *Cyprus: Its History, its Present Resources and Future Prospects*, by R. Hamilton Lang (1878), p. 35.

³ Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, etc., vol. i. p. 468.

⁴ Ἰγὺ θεῶν Μῦλιττα. Mylitta, or Mylidoth, is a Chaldaic word which Scaliger interprets "genitrix," one of the epithets of Venus. Her temple was sacred to Succoth Benoth, signifying "tent of the girls." — Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), vol. i. p. 190.

temple was anciently the temple of the Tyrian Hercules and Astarte, the solemn veiled priestess,¹ who sat with an infant at her bosom,—the original whence was derived the idea of the Christian Madonna. This heartless and wanton goddess, who afterward became the beautiful and charming Aphrodite, was the most beautiful of all ideal creatures, and was subsequently, under the Greek *régime*, transformed into Venus. She has undergone her third transformation, and is now the virgin mother of God (Aphrodites). The great temple² stood upon a high point, and could be seen by mariners at a great distance.³ Its dimensions were two hundred and twenty-one by one hundred and sixty-seven feet, and was founded by Cinyras, the story of whose daughter Myrrha and son Adonis is familiar to every classical scholar.⁴ The rites to which Apollonius had expressed so strong disapprobation were in honor of Aphrodite Mylitta, or the Paphian Venus,⁵ and which required every native female once a year, or at least once in her life, to prostitute herself to any

¹ *Vestiges of Spirit-History of Man* (Dunlap), p. 37, *et seq.*

² Afterwards a Christian church, then a mosque, now an indefinable ruin.

³ A most extraordinary feature of this Cyprian beauty, Venus, was, that she was exhibited with a beard under the name of Aphroditus (Ἀφροδίτης Hesychus). She is also so represented by Servius (*Servius upon Virgil, Æneid*, lib. ii. v. 632). "Est etiam in Cypro simulacrum barbata Veneris." The poet Calvus speaks of her as masculine.—*Ma-*

crobius, lib. iii. c. 8; *Porphyry apud Eusebium. Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. c. 11.

⁴ Apollonius thinks the curious story related by Pliny (from an ancient tradition), that there was a lion with emerald eyes surmounting a tomb of one of the kings of Cyprus at Paphos, was a mere fable. The lion was said to overlook the sea, and the dazzling rays of his emerald eyes scared the tiny fish from the coast.

⁵ Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, etc., vol. ii. p. 350.

stranger who presented himself and offered her money, and for this purpose she kept herself in waiting in the stoa of the temple.¹ In Babylon, as well as in Cyprus, the observance of this rite was considered indispensable by women of every rank and position.²

On arriving at New Paphos Apollonius found the vessel ready to leave the port, not being able to remain, in consequence of the boisterous weather and the exposed nature of the harbor. Although late in the day, they sailed immediately, and as soon as the vessel had cleared the headlands of the

¹ *Travels of Antenor* (translated by E. F. Lantier), vol. iii. p. 69, etc.

² *Herodotus*, i. 199.

Mylitta is the Assyrian name of this goddess; the Arabians called her Alitta, the Persians Mitra, Aphrodite with the Greeks.—Cf. *A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, etc., by Jacob Bryant, 6 vols. (London), vol. i. p. 377; *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 23, etc.

This custom prevailed in Armenia, Phrygia, Palestine, Carthage, and Italy,—everywhere, except with the Greeks and Egyptians, says Herodotus. These exceptions Herodotus might have omitted, at least so far as concerns the Greeks, for there were thousands of sacred prostitutes kept in each of the celebrated temples of Venus at Eryx and Corinth, who were said to have been extremely expert in the duties of their profession. And Hosea, referring to this peculiar form of Mylitta worship, declared Samaria levied a reward at every corn floor.—*Dis-*

sertation sur les Attributs de Venus, by Abbé de La Chan (Paris, 1776), p. 160; also, *Herodotus*, ii. 64; *Strabo*, viii.; *Diodorus Siculus*, iv.; *Juvenal, Satire, 22*; cf. *The Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology* (R. Payne Knight), p. 54.

The coinage of Cyprus is of the highest numismatic interest. There have been recovered six different types of coins whose Cypriote origin is attested by legends in Cypriote characters. In all we have forty-eight varieties of coins from Cyprus. On the early Greek coins, upon which is found an inverse or indented square, sometimes divided into four and sometimes into more compartments, are symbols of the celestial Venus, or female productive power. Similar impressions occur on some Egyptian amulets of paste, all having the same significance. The lyre was also a type on one of Mylitta.—*Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, by S. L. and R. Poole, vol. iv. *Egypt*.

roadstead of Paphos they headed for the coast of Lycia, the gale continuing in the mean time unabated through the greater part of the night. The master of the ship, being well versed in a knowledge of the winds, and also of the celestial bodies, their motions and influence, and also being familiar with the harbors and rocks, continued his course during the night. The next morning, being more favored by Neptune, they sighted Mount Cragus, the south promontory of Lycia, and on the evening of the same day anchored in the harbor of Rhodes. The harbor was filled with merchantmen engaged in the various traffics of Alexandria and Syracuse.¹ The winds favoring, they sailed the next morning before day, and coasted in sight of the shores of Caria, Doris, and Cnidus,² the last being the birthplace of Eudoxus, the astronomer; Ctesias, the historian; and Sostratus, the builder of the Pharos at Alexandria, and for the night put into the harbor of Halicarnassus (now Budrum), opposite the island of Cos, rendered famous by the services of that great woman, Artemisia, and the magnificent tomb erected by her on the principal street in the heart of the city to the memory of her husband, Mausolus; this work was executed by the sculptors Scopas, Leschares, and Bryaxis.³ There were also

¹ *Travels of Antenor*, vol. ii. p. 357.

² Cnidus, like Mytilene, Myndus, and many other Hellenic cities, was originally built on an island which the Greeks called Triopion; it is a lofty rock, rising abruptly from the low isthmus which now connects it with the mainland, but which was

formerly a strait. In ancient times this port was a secure haven for Phœnician and Egyptian navigators during storms and gales.

³ The head of this famous statue of Mausolus was unearthed at Budrum, 1857, by C. T. Newton, keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities of the British Museum.

celebrated temples to Mars, Apollo, and Venus, but more especially was this city attractive to Apollonius for being the place where Herodotus was born, from which he was banished, and where he died. "We set sail," says Damis, "on the next day, and, steering northerly of Cos and near unto the island of Calymna, entered the gulf of Issus, and from thence, passing under the craggy summits of Samos, the mightiest of all the states of Greece, in the days of Pericles, save only Athens, on the close of the third day arrived at Panormus, seaport of Ephesus, where Apollonius, having paid his vows to the gods, proceeded at once to Ephesus,"¹ one of the great cities of Ionia, and sacred to Artemis (Diana); they debarked at the city port, in front of the gymnasium, in the rear of which was the Forum, at the foot of Mount Coressus. The moment he arrived it was noised about the city, and the citizens left their work and followed him, paying him homage and applause.² The first discourse Apollonius gave at Ephesus was from the porch of the temple of Diana,³ after

¹ There appears to be a great hiatus in the profane history of Ephesus; nothing is related of it with certainty of history from some time before the Christian era to the fifth century. Ecclesiastical history, however, says that Paul preached there, and wrote some of his epistles there, 55, 56, and 64, A. D. (*Encyclopædia Brit.*; Haydn's *Dic. of Dates*); not sustained by contemporaneous facts. J. T. Wood, in his great work, *Discoveries at Ephesus, including the Great Temple of Diana of Ephesus*, declined throwing any light upon this subject, or giving us any history of

this famous city during a period of eight hundred years, so complete and thorough had been the work of the literary despoiler. Not that the town wanted importance, for it was an important place up to the eleventh century, and a pagan city during the eighth century.

² The entry of Apollonius into Ephesus, says d'Aussy, is a parallel to the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem.—*Le Grand d'Aussy*, vol. i. p. 24.

³ This temple was one of the seven wonders of the world. It was 425 feet long and 250 broad, and was

the manner of the stoics, exhorting them to spend their time in study and philosophy, and to abandon their dissipation and cruel sports.¹ He also preached on "Community of Goods," illustrating his discourse with the parable of the sparrow; other discourses were held in the groves near Xysta.² And the city of Ephesus, which was so notorious for its profligacy and frivolity, was brought back by the teachings of Apollonius to the cultivation of philosophy and the practice of virtue.³ He did not teach after the manner of Socrates, but endeavored to detach his disciples from all occupation other than philosophy.⁴ Damis admired the Ephesians, with all their faults, and he was enamored with

supported by 127 columns of marble 60 feet high. It was 200 years in building, and was burned by Erostratus and rebuilt with equal splendor and beauty.

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 141.

² The boundary of the temple of Diana was an asylum, a refuge for fugitives from justice or vengeance (Τέμενος), and it had been from time to time extended, until it embraced a large portion of the city with Xysta. Augustus, comprehending the evils growing out of this exemption, contracted the boundaries and built a wall around the temple.

³ *Révillé*, p. 28.

⁴ Lecky's *Hist. of European Morals*, vol. i. p. 350. "Apollonius was admired at Ephesus; the devils themselves contributed to his popularity by their oracles, which they gave out in his favor. It is claimed that he reclaimed the city from idle-

ness, from a love of dancing, and from other fooleries to which it was addicted, and that he endeavored to bring the inhabitants to be friendly to one another. He labored in like manner in the other cities of Ionia, to reform the manners of the people, and to establish unity amongst them. For the devil, whom some of the fathers had called the 'ape of God,' and who would be well contented that men should be a little more regular in their outward behavior, providing they were but impious in neglecting the worship of God, attempted by his agent, Apollonius, to undo what Jesus Christ had accomplished by his apostles,—the reformation of manners by the preaching of the gospel."—*An Account of the Life of Apollonius*, by M. Lenain de Tillemont (London, 1702), p. 14; see *Phylostratus de Vita Apollonii Tyanei Scriptor Luculentus, a Philippo Beroaldo Castigatus* (1502).

their city, which he describes as being built upon a fine plain, stretching westward forty stadia to the sea. To the north of the main way on the campania, between Mounts Coressus and Solmissus, was the sacred precinct and the famous temple of Diana of the Ephesians,¹ the most magnificent edifice on earth. The great aqueduct which was to convey water to Ephesus from Mount Magnesia was not yet completed, and the Stadium, near the Coressian Gate, was also in process of construction. Apollonius was received everywhere

¹ *Travels of Antenor*, vol. iii. p. 329.

The importance paid to the worship of Diana of the Ephesians is evidenced by the great number of Ephesian coins and medals bearing her image; it was styled ἘΦΕΣΙΟΝ, chief city of all Asia, on coins and medals, and Diana, the greatest of all the gods. A bee was always the symbol of Diana; as early as the middle of the fifth century B. C., the Ephesian Artemis was symbolized by a bee, and the city of Rhodes has two specimens with the same symbol, also Cnidus, and Smyrna, and Syracuse; this is a proof of the alliance between these four cities. The same symbol was found on the coins of Croton in Italy B. C. 389. Philostratus says that when the Athenians led their colony to found the city of Ephesus the Muses, in form of bees, flew about them, directing the course of the fleet. Hence this symbol on Ephesian coin. There is an extant Ephesian coin bearing the image of

Septimius Severus, another of Jupiter, but all bearing the image of Diana. There is a coin of Ephesus, also of Athens, bearing a stag, and Diana, significant of the Elaphobolia, wherein a pair of stags were sacrificed to Diana. The coins of Ephesus are numerous, and confirm many alliances with many cities of Asia, principally for commercial purposes.—*Rara Magnæ Græciæ numismata nunc curante Georgio Volchamero denuo recusa* (1683). Great confusion has been occasioned by some Greek historians interpreting *Melissæ*, Μελισσῆ, *Bee*.—Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, vol. ii. p. 351. Herodotus says that all the northern side of the Danube was occupied by bees. Jove, also, upon Mount Ida, was said to have been nourished by bees. The building of the temple of Delphi the second time was by bees. The *Melissæ* were the attendants upon Demeter and Persephone, and hence when they migrated or introduced their rites it was misinterpreted into the doings of bees.

with demonstrations of joy and reverence; the people flocked to hear him, and many were benefited by his preaching.¹

¹ Philostratus claims that paganism at Ephesus, Antioch, Smyrna, Corinth, and Athens (all claimed to have been Christian centers in Paul's day) was remodeled and reformed through the preaching of Apollonius, and that churches and bishops were established there long before Paul's time. All this seems quite rational enough when we consider that there is no account of any Christian teachers visiting Rome, Ephesus, Antioch, etc., prior to Paul. And yet Paul addresses large congregations and prosperous churches there. What churches? There is no evidence outside of merely Paul's word or the interpolator that these churches, bishops, deacons, presbyters were Christians; on the contrary, they appear to be strongly pagan. For Paul refers to their institutions as of long standing and of no novelty. (Christian churches and other evidences of Christianity at Ephesus discovered by Mr. Wood do not antedate the ninth century.) Nor were they being demolished and the inmates burned, as Paul (or his interpolators) declares was the fate of all the churches. Philo Judeas speaks of these things as of long established notoriety and venerable antiquity in his day, A. D. 37, and Philo wrote before Josephus, and when Jesus was not more than 15 years of age. Philo was a member of a relig-

ious community, having parishes, churches, bishops, priests, and deacons, pretending to have apostolic founders, using scriptures which they believed to be divinely inspired, and which Eusebius himself believed to be nothing else than the substance of the gospels. They also had missionary stations and colonies at Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colossæ, and Thessalonica; all this was nothing new in Philo's day. This was probably as early as A. D. 18. Now it is infinitely absurd, nay it is absolutely impossible, that a body of ignorant believers in a new and alien religion of an alien and despised race had formed themselves into such wealthy and powerful church organization amid the most violent persecutions and martyrdoms. Paul writes "I beseech Euodias and beseech Syntyche that they be of the same mind in the Lord, and I intreat thee also, true yokefellow, help those women which labored with me in the gospel," etc.—Phil. iv. 2, 3. There is no pretense that the earliest Christian gospel appeared sooner than sixteen years after this, and yet Paul declares that he was made a minister of the gospel which had already been preached to every creature under heaven.—Col. i. 23. "The brethren which are with me greet you. All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cæsar's

The priests and oracles of Colophon and of Didymus and of Pergamus had already declared in his favor,

household."—Phil. iv. 22. It must be a source of infinite amusement to the man of learning to read the article on Episcopacy, by Rev. Canon Venables, in *Encyclopædia Brit.* Its evident effort at disguising truth or its utterance of willful falsehood is too apparent to deceive the most ordinary scholar. This is the Canon's contribution to the cause. Now, if what the Christians claim be true of Nero, Vespasian, and Domitian, I submit that Cæsar's household must have been a highly uncomfortable dwelling-place for Christian saints.

From the epistles of Paul we learn that in the two great cities of Ephesus and Philippi, also on the island of Crete, and in fact throughout all Asia Minor, there were well organized and matured Christian communities, bishops, deacons, presbyters, ministering and governing under the ancient forms and ceremonies of churches which appear to be held in both royal and popular favor; while from the same authority we learn that the emperors were torturing and burning every man, woman, and child who was suspected of entertaining Christian doctrines. These epistles need revision. And again, the incredibly short space of time in which these things were accomplished, places the account entirely without the pale of even possibility.

Before the pretended date of any

one of the gospels which have come to us, before any one of the disciples had suffered martyrdom, before any one of them had completed his mission, we find a spiritual dynasty established, exercising the most tremendous authority ever grasped by man, not merely over the lives and fortunes, minds, and persons, but over their prospective eternal destinies. We find (by the Christian record) a church at Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colossæ, and Thessalonica, rooted and grounded in the faith, called of Jesus Christ, in everything enriched, in all utterances and in all knowledge, beloved of God and in favor with the king. And if an apostle himself or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel than that which they had received let him be accursed.—Gal. i. 8, 9.

Christian churches did not begin to appear until the time of Alexander Severus, A. D. 220.—*Der Fall des Herdenthurus*, von Dr. H. G. Tschinier, 8vo. (Leipsig, 1829).

Histoire de la Destruction de l'Paganisme en l'Occident, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, en l'année 1832, par A. Beugnot, de l'Institut de France, 2 tomes (Paris, 1835).

And then again, how account for the ignorance of the Ephesian Christians, "grounded in the faith," as Paul informs us, which is so manifest in their answer to Paul's ques-

and all persons who stood in need of assistance were commanded by the oracle to repair to Apollonius, such

tion, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" And they said unto him, "We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost."—Acts xix. 2. This certainly is no evidence of high Christian culture among the brethren at Ephesus. We must conclude that the Christianity of the Ephesians in Paul's and Apollonius's day was of a very base coinage. For if the Holy Ghost or the Ghost especially to whom the Christian neophyte owes primordial allegiance was unknown to these new converts, then I am unable to classify their Christianity.

Paul writes to Timothy, A. D. 58 (according to Conybeare and Howson), 2 Timothy iii. 15, and in that letter tells Timothy that "from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." These things look very strange, and either Paul was, or we are, mistaken about their truth. There is no possible escape from it.

In an analysis of the character of Paul as given to us in the revealed word, we find him a strange compound of paganism by birth, Judaism by artfulness, and a Christian I wonderfully suspect by interpolation and literary touchings of the records by subsequent revelators. Tarsus, the birthplace of Paul, was not a Jewish but a Roman town. Paul is

not a Jewish but a Roman name, and the protestation of Paul that "my manner of life was first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the strictest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee,"—Acts xxvi. 4, 5,—needs attestation, for he confesses that the Jupiter of Aratus, the poet, was the god whom he adored.

Would not one suppose from reading the account of Paul that the great storm of persecution had already passed, to see stately edifices erected for the public worship of God, with a great number of ecclesiastical offices? On the contrary we are told that during the Apostolic age, and long after, the Christians wandered about in deserts and mountains, in dens and caves of the earth, being destitute, afflicted, and tormented.

Their sacred rites, we are told, were performed with the utmost plainness and simplicity and in secret and obscure places, sometimes at cemeteries or graves of the martyrs. These epistles of Paul do not dovetail with the facts of this age as taken from all other sources. There is not a single authority, Christian or otherwise, that there were edifices designedly for the use of the Christians, for it was a common objection against the Christian in the mouth of every pagan, *Templa non*

being the will of Apollo and the Fates.¹ Embassies were sent from all the principal cities of Ionia offering him rights of hospitality. Smyrna sent ambassadors, who, when questioned for a reason of the invitation, replied, "To see you, Apollonius, and be seen by you." "Then," said Apollonius, "I will come; our curiosity is mutual." In visiting the temples, advising with the priests, and lecturing to the people, Apollonius spent his time at Ephesus.² He also traveled into other places of Ionia adjacent to Ephesus, always addressing the people. He then departed for Smyrna, three hundred and sixty stadia from Ephesus, a two-and-a-half-days' journey, and as he drew near unto the city, the Ionians, who were engaged in their Panionian festival,³ came out to meet him.⁴ He found the people given up to idle

habent, non aras, non altaria, non simulacra, even a long time after the Apostolic age, and the apologists themselves admit this to be true. A remarkable passage in Isidore Pelusiota, in which he expressly affirms that there were no churches in the Apostolic age; and as to officers of the church spoken of by Paul, neither Clemens nor Ignatius nor Polycarp nor Justin Martyr nor Irenæus appears to have known anything about them.—*A Discourse on the Pretended Apostolic Constitutions*, etc., etc., by Robt. Turner, M. A., vicar of St. Peter's in Colchester (London, 1715).

¹ *Berwick*, p. 189; *General Biographical Dictionary of the Most Eminent Persons of Every Nation*, by Alexander Chalmers, 32 vols., art. Apollonius.

² *D'Aussy*, vol. i. p. 243; *Berwick*, p. 189; *Chassang*, p. 141; *The French Translation of Blount*, vol. iv. p. 80.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 143.

⁴ The festival in which none but Ionians were allowed to participate (Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, vol. i. c. ii. 16.) It was instituted in honor of Neptune, surnamed Helicon, from Helice, a city of Achaia.

Of Pergamus, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, next to nothing is known during the period from 240 B. C. to A. D. 700, except a rambling ecclesiastical history, principally relating to saints, wonders, and miracles.—Haydn's *Dic. of Dates*.

Cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamus.

disputings, and much divided in their opinions upon all subjects which tended for the public welfare and the good government of the city. He exhorted them in their disputes to vie with each other in giving the best advice or in discharging most faithfully the duties of citizens, in beautifying their city with works of art and graceful buildings, advising them that beautiful cities resemble the statue of Jupiter Olympus which Phidias had made, or the elegant work of Cleanthes, the Corinthian, or of Polycletus, or the fabulous works of Dædalus,¹ always beautiful and artistic, and giving joy and culture to the beholder.

The natural advantages of the situation of Smyrna for trade called forth the commendations of Apollonius; but it had been subjected to most prodigious earthquakes, and had been nearly destroyed during the reign of Tiberius.

Apollonius delivered many discourses at Smyrna, always confining himself to such topics as were most useful to his hearers. He was the guest of Theron the elder, of Smyrna, a stoic and an astronomer. Smyrna, Cnidus, and Pergamus were the chief centers of learning in these days, and the great schools were at Cos, at Cnidus, at Pergamus, and Smyrna. Hippocrates, whose writings won for him from his successors the title of "The Divine Old Man,"² and from the moderns that of the "Father of Medicine," was a

¹ *Dissertation on Grecian Mythology*, etc. (Musgrave, 1782, London); also, cf. *Strabo*, xiv. p. 641.

² "The Prince of Medicine," "The Father of Physic," "The Oracle of Cos." His father was a

physician, the seventeenth lineal descendant from Æsculapius. His mother was Phenerata, the eighteenth in descent from Hercules. In his family there were seven physicians named Hippocrates.

native of Cos. Praxagoras, who wrote on the pulse, was also a native of Cos, as well as Nicander, Theophrastos, Chrysippus, and Polybius,¹ who established the rival sect of Dogmatici. Praxiteles was from Cnidus; Pythagoras came from Samos; Anaxagoras, the friend and master of Pericles, Euripides, and Socrates, were all of Chios. Archimedes,² whose name is still pronounced with gratitude and veneration, was a native of Syracuse (B. C. 287), as was Philistus; and Diodorus Siculus was also a Sicilian.

At this time ambassadors came from Ephesus to Apollonius, entreating him to return to them as their physician, for the plague was now raging in that city. During his former residence there he had warned these Ephesians of the danger threatening them from this disease through the uncleanliness of their city; but deeming it best not to delay his journey in their distress, although he felt aggrieved at their disregard of his warning, he proceeded at once to Ephesus. As soon as he arrived he harangued the people, charging them not to be dejected, but to keep up their spirits, and he would that day put a check upon the disease.³ After having stayed the ravages of the

¹ Son-in-law to Hippocrates.

² He, too, treated the quadrature of the circle, and determined the ratio of the circumference within .0012 of the truth, and wrote on conoids, spheroids, and cylinders, and came as near the discovery of differential calculus as was possible without the aid of algebra.

³ "There is no need of remarks," says Lardner, "upon so silly a story.

Justly does Eusebius say that Philostratus's account of Apollonius's miracles is inconsistent and therefore altogether incredible."

Ne trouvant aucun remède à opposer au fléau, les Ephésiens envoyèrent des députés à Apollonius, dont ils espéraient leur guérison. Apollonius ne crut pas devoir différer: "Allons," dit-il, et au même instant il fut à Éphèse, sans doute pour

plague, in commemoration of which the Ephesians consecrated to him a statue under the title of Hercules Alexicacus,¹ he departed, and visited many places in Ionia, giving the people such advice as he deemed necessary for their benefit, and for the benefit of their temples and their gods. But becoming weary of this monotonous life,² and impatient for seeing Greece, he began making preparations for an early departure for Athens, not, however, without first paying his respects to ancient Pergamus,³ noted for being the most eminent seat of learning in the world at this time. He visited localities rendered sacred to him as once having been familiar to Crates, the stoic and philosopher, who lived and taught here; and it was here also that Galen, the most celebrated of all the pagan philos-

imiter Pythagore, qui s'était trouvé en même temps à Thurium et à Métaponte. Il rassembla les Éphésiens et leur dit : "Rassurez-vous dès aujourd'hui je vais arrêter le fléau." Il dit et mena la multitude au théâtre, à l'endroit où se trouve aujourd'hui une statue d'Hercule. — Chassang's *Apollonius de Tyane*, etc., p. 146.

¹ Lactantius, a Latin father of the third century, says the Ephesians nevertheless consecrated a statue to Apollonius, under the title of Hercules Saviour, in commemoration of his having delivered them from the plague.

² Apollonius continued in Ephesus, Smyrna, etc., from A. D. 50 to 59, and was in Rome from A. D. 63 to A. D. 66. The accounts of Paul

say that he was in Ionia and Greece, A. D. 53; in Ephesus, A. D. 54, and again, from 56 to 58; in Rome in A. D. 65 and 66.—*Hist. Christian Church*, by John H. Newman, vol. i. p. 348, etc.

³ The kingdom of Pergamus, famous in its day, was founded by Philetærus, a eunuch, whom Lysimachus had made governor of the place and guardian of his treasures. He was succeeded by Eumenes I., B. C. 263. The kingdom at this period embraced nearly all of Asia Minor. It was one of the great kingdoms of the East. It became a Roman province, B. C. 159.—*Cf. Abbé Sevin, Recherches sur les Rois de Pergame, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xii. (Paris, 1829), 4to; Clinton's *Kings of Pergamus*.

ophers, was born (131 A. D.)¹ It was also the native city of the physician Oribasius, a pagan and friend of Julian, who was banished by Valentinian, A. D. 370, and here Scipio died. Pergamus possessed an enormous library, although eighty years before the visit of Apollonius² Marc Antony had robbed it of 200,000 volumes and deposited them in the temple of Serapis at Alexandria to gratify the passion of his enchantress Cleopatra for literature.³ At Pergamus Apollonius performed worship in the temple of Æsculapius, with which he was much pleased. He also discoursed there in the temple of Athena Pallas, the patron goddess of the city. Pergamus continued to rank with Ephesus and Smyrna as one of the three great cities of the province until the time of Nero.⁴ After Apollonius

¹ Claudius Galen was a Roman and pagan, born in Pergamus, A. D. 131. He remodeled the works of Hippocrates and added much to them. He detested Epicureanism, and was of the same school as Apollonius.—*Cf.* his works: *De Usu Partium*, *De Locis Affectis*, and *Ars Medica*; see also P. Watson's *Medical Profession*, p. 161.

² The exportation of papyrus from Egypt had been prohibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus, to prevent Eumenes, king of Pergamus, increasing his libraries (B. C. 263). Eumenes turned his attention to parchment, and so improved it for making into books that little or no change has taken place in it to the present.—*Technical History of Commerce*, etc., by John Yeats, LL. D. (London, 1872), p. 77.

³ The coins of Pergamus, the de-

vice of which was an *Eagle on a Thunderbolt*, confirm the data of all her historic kings from Eumenes 1st. All these coins are beautifully executed, and were issued from Augustus, extending long into that period of the history of Pergamus of which we have no records. They have Latin inscriptions. Some bear the name and device of Mytilene, proving an alliance between these towns. There is a Cornelian gem extant bearing the portrait of Pergamus, the founder of the city, and a bronze medal of Pergamus the younger.

⁴ Excavations made on the site of this ancient city, by the Prussian government, have disclosed many buildings on the Acropolis, and among them the temple of Athena and the temple dedicated to Augustus.—*Bohn and Humann*.

had suggested many things to the worshipers and priests of the various temples concerning maladies, he departed for Ilium, a three days' journey from Pergamus.

While at Ilium he was moved by a divine emotion; this sacred territory, sanctified by the achievements of illustrious heroes, filled him with veneration, and while his mind was in this humor of reverence for the fallen brave, he repaired to the tombs of the Achæans, invoked the gods, and sacrificed to that noble band of heroes. Of all the chiefs of the Grecian army, those which inspired the highest respect in Homer were the Achæans. To that race belong the Atudæ, Achilles, Ulysses, Diomedes, and Nestor.¹ Apollonius proposed to spend one night in the tomb of Achilles,² in order to ascertain from the shades of that hero where Palamedes was buried; and for this purpose they set out from Ilium on foot, down

¹ The Achæan League affords probably the most perfect example of all antiquity of the federal form of government, and, allowing for difference of time and place, its resemblance to that of the United States government is very remarkable.—*Cf. Freeman's Federal Government*, 2 vols. (1863); *Comparative Politics* (New York, 1873); *Droysen Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2 vols.; *Helwing Geschichte des Achæischen Bunder*).

² Philostratus has not so much as suggested a doubt concerning the tomb of Achilles being at Troas. The number of writers who have written to disprove the facts stated in Homer concerning the war of Troy—of Helen, Paris, Achilles—

is quite great. Anaxagoras, a philosopher born in the 70th Olympiad, and quoted by Diogenes Laertius, was the first skeptic on this subject. There were others after him, as Metrodorus, Diogenes Laertius, Hesijch, Totian, and a writer in Athenæus, of whom we know nothing; Basil Magnus, an author of the lower ages of the Roman empire.—Jacob Bryant, in his work entitled, *A Dissertation Concerning the War of Troy, and the Expedition of the Greeks*, etc. (A. D. 1796). The authors who seem to favor the story among the ancients are Hesiod, Pindar, Tryphiodorus, Callimachus, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Lycophron, and Philostratus.

the Simois River, and on the first night made their camp at the confluence of the Simois and the Scamander Rivers, on the plains of Troy, near where the army of Xerxes passed on its way to Abydos. This army and cattle, it is said, "drank the Scamander dry, the Simois being muddy." The next day they arrived at Sigæum, on the Hellespont, convenient to which are located the tombs and mausolea of Patrocles and Achilles. The Dioscoridæ (Δίωσκοροις),¹ who had now become his friends and followers, endeavored to dissuade him from his purpose of spending a night in the tomb, assuring him that death would be the penalty of such rashness and impiety. "But," said Apollonius, "Achilles² still loves conversation and pleasant stories; when alive he was very fond of the Pylian Nestor, who always told him something interesting. He used to call old Phœnix his foster-father and companion, and other endearing appellations, because he told to him facetious tales. Even Priam, his mortal enemy, he regarded with admiration when he heard him speak,³ and it is my determination to talk with him, with more pleasure than ever did his friends of old;⁴ and should he kill me I shall have the honor of reposing with Memnon and Cynus, and I doubt not Troy will

¹ Also called Corybantes, Curetes, Idæi, Dactyli, and Telchines. The places where they worshiped prevailed over Italy, Crete, Samothrace, and Troas.

² *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), iv. 278.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges*, etc., par A. Chassang, p. 148.

⁴ People used to resort there every year in order to offer up sacrifice in his honor; and a tradition was current that his shade, dressed in armor, was accustomed to appear in a threatening posture, notwithstanding which, says Bayle, Apollonius attempted to speak to it. It is related that miracles were wrought at his tomb.

honor me with a burial as honorable as that given to Nestor, the Pylian sage."

Apollonius carried out his design, and his companions were surprised to see him returning the next morning safe and sound. He reported that to the several questions which he was permitted to ask, he ascertained that Helen was never carried to Troy by Paris as stated by Homer,¹ but that she remained in Egypt at the house of Proteus, king of Egypt, to which she had been conveyed by Paris.² He also ascertained that the reason why Homer nowhere mentioned Palamedes³ was because he was put to death⁴ to gratify the hatred of Ulysses, and Homer did not like to cast reproach on the character of the crafty son of Laertes and Anticlea, daughter of Antolychus.⁵ He also learned that Palamedes was buried at Methymna, in Lesbos, on the extreme northern end of the island, which was rendered famous as being the birthplace of Sappho (Σαπφώ.)⁶

¹ So says Herodotus, *Dion Chrysostom*, xi. p. 162; *Tertullian De Spectaculis*, p. 290, c; *Photius*, p. 433; *Strabo*, lib. xiii. p. 900.

² The detention of Helen by Proteus is made serviceable in one of the tragedies of Euripides. A very succinct account of Helen may be found in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under Helena; see, also, Paris and Menelaus.

³ Palamedes was the inventor of scales, measures, chess, dice, and several letters of the Greek alphabet. He joined the expedition against Troy, and exposed by an ingenious stratagem the feigned in-

sanity of Ulysses, and thereby incurred his enmity. Palamedes was convicted of treason, and put to death.—*Æneid*, lib. ii. 80.

⁴ The manner in which Ulysses procured the death of Palamedes is uncertain. Ovid says he hid some money in Palamedes's tent, and then had him condemned by a council of war for having received a bribe; Pausanias says that Ulysses and Diomedes pushed him in the water, and held him under until drowned.—*Banier*, vol. iv. p. 290.

⁵ *Banier*, vol. iv. p. 389.

⁶ Sappho, a contemporary of Alcæus and Erinna, has rendered

Having obtained this, his most desired information, he immediately took passage for Lesbos; the wind was fair from the land, and the ship ready to sail. But at this season of the year (autumn) the Ægean sea was not much to be trusted, and such crowds flocked on board, anxious to embark with Apollonius, supposing that he had power over fire and water and perils of every kind, that he quietly withdrew to another vessel lying at anchor near the tomb of Ajax,¹ the pilot and master of which, a Rhodian, was engaged in the corn

Mytilene, a city of Lesbos, noted for all time, in having established a literary society there, consisting entirely of women (600 B. C.), who gathered around her from all parts of Greece. There was another Sappho, a courtesan.—*History of Classical Greek Literature*, by Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, M. A., 2 vols.; vol. i. p. 20.

A l'époque de Sappho et d'Alcée, les cités éoliennes et ioniennes avaient encore ces mœurs aristocratiques qui les font ressembler, à beaucoup d'égards, à la république de Venise du temps où le noble Marcello composait pour la haute société du Grand-Canal les psaumes qui ont rendu son nom célèbre; les relations sociales y étaient libres et faciles, quelquefois licencieuses mais toujours empreintes d'élégance et de cette noblesse de manières qui appartienne aux aristocraties. Du reste le climat des îles et des rivages éoliens est d'une douceur qui tourne à la mollesse, et qui engendre aisément la volupté;

le canal de Lesbos est éclairé le soir d'une douce lumière et parcouru sans cesse par des brises tièdes mais non énervantes que parfument les arbustes odoriférants des montagnes. Les richesses et le luxe de l'Asie abondaient sur ces rivages et donnaient aux nobles Grecs de ces contrées ces habitudes de langueur et de poésie passionnée, dont nous retrouvons encore quelque chose dans leurs descendants Italiens et Asiatiques.—M. E. Burroughs, *Littérature Grecque*, vol. i. p. 194.

¹ Off the Rhetean promontory, on the edge of a sandy shore, the station of Ajax was on the left wing of the camp at Troy, and opposite that of Achilles; that is to say, it was nearest to what was afterward called the Rhetean promontory. Antony, or Pompey, it is thought, plundered the tomb of Ajax of its ashes, and carried them to Egypt. Pausanias testifies that it had been opened.—*A Vindicator of Homer*, etc., etc., by J. B. S. Morritt (1798), p. 104.

trade, and was bound for Alexandria, in Egypt. On entering the Ægean sea, they ran down the coast of Troas before a strong north wind, passing in sight of the tombs of Patroclus, and of Antilochus, and Alexander of Troy, and Penelaus, the last at Cape Troas; also in sight of the island Tenedos,¹ the fatal station to which the Greeks retired with their fleet for concealment while awaiting the result of their stratagem for the capture of Troy.

After doubling the Trojan promontory, Apollonius bid the pilot steer for Æolia, over against Lesbos, and to make it by coasting near to Methymna, situated at the extreme north end of the island of Lesbos; at this place he landed, for it was here that Achilles told him Palamedes was buried. He visited the locality, and saw the tomb and the fallen statue of the god, and read the inscription thereon in these words, "To the Divine Palamedes."² The free and easy manner of the people of Methymna³ did not accord with the austere life of Apollonius; but he determined to remain there until he could restore the statue to its proper place, which he did, and erected a chapel over it, capable of containing ten guests;⁴ and, after having performed this sacred office, deeming his stay no longer profitable, he made the following prayer at the chapel, and departed from Methymna: "O Palamedes, forget the just anger you had for the Greeks;

¹ Whence issued the serpents that strangled Laocoön and his sons.

² *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chas-sang), p. 150.

³ Knight's *Worship of the Priapus*, p. 105.

⁴ This chapel has been kept in repair by various pilgrims and admirers from the time of Apollonius, and was standing in 1854.—Newton's *Levant*, vol. i. p. 347; Berwick's *Apollonius*, p. 200.

grant them prosperity and to multiply in numbers, and in wisdom accede this, O Palamedes; from whom comes all knowledge, and by you and the Muses I live." ¹

Thus, while Apollonius was performing acts of veneration to the memory of these great human benefactors, in one corner of the Roman empire, stirring events were taking place in others. In Judea a new procurator had been appointed named Ventidius Cumanus (A. D. 51), and tumult and rioting were the rule of the day—quiet the exception at Jerusalem. The Jews were divided into parties with excessive hate for each other, and the innovation of the Roman soldier was no conciliatory element. Some of the insurrectionists or Jewish leaders who aspired to be kings were executed

¹ Cf. *Archives des Missions Scientifiques* (Paris, 1856), vol. v. pp. 273-364.

There are many extant coins of the island of Lesbos, of more value, however, to the enthusiast than to the historian. (There are some coins very much prized by the collector, representing the rites of their tutelary goddesses in a manner too explicit for description here.) There is one very ancient silver coin of Methymna, with the type of a dolphin, symbol of, and sacred to, Sappho; another, unedited, with the type of Arion on a dolphin. The general device of the Methymnian coin was "The Boar." The lion's head, which was always a type of Samian coins, was also a type of the Lesbian coins. The type of bull's and calf's head was, however,

more common. Methymna has some very interesting coins (to the collector) in silver, with the boar and head of Athene, with her helmet adorned by a Pegasus rising above her forehead, and with the inscription at full length, ΜΕΘΥΜΝΑΙΩΝ. These are indeed curious, but too ancient to be serviceable in illustrating this inquiry, all being anterior to 400 B. C. Modern types of Lesbian coins have the head of Apollo and the lyre. Lesbian coins seldom represented hero-worship; but there is an ancient copper coin of their coinage at Mytilene inscribed to "The Divine Theophanes." Through him the liberties of the Mytilenæans were restored.—*Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, by C. T. Newton (1865), vol. i. p. 68; *Coins of the Ancients*, Head, I. A., x. p. 5.

by crucifixion. Jerusalem promised no peace for Jew or Roman.¹

Claudius was still reigning. At the close of the year A. D. 50, Ostorius, a Roman general, was sent to displace Plautius in the half-conquered island of Britain, and in the latter part of A. D. 51 Ostorius defeated Caractacus, king of the Silures, and sent him prisoner to Rome. About this time, A. D. 52 and 53, Curtius Severus, prefect of Syria, marched against the Clitæ who had become troublesome to the province of Cilicia under one Troxobar. They made inroads upon the farmers and townsfolk, merchants and shipping. In the mean time Claudius Felix had been appointed procurator at Jerusalem, which added new complications; and disorders and disturbances continued to multiply. The two parties had organized or employed gangs of assassins to operate against one another. The priests were engaged in the tumults, riot prevailed everywhere, which Felix was impotent to quell. In this year Claudius improvised a great naval battle upon Lake Fucinus, an artificial aqueduct commenced in A. D. 38 and just finished. This was gotten up in imitation of the great exhibition of Augustus on the basin of the Tiber, except that it was on a much grander scale.²

The galleys were equipped with nineteen thousand men; the entire lake was occupied by marines and decked vessels; an immense multitude covering the adjacent hills to their very summits were present to witness the fight and to pay their respects to the

¹ Cf. *An Account of the Life of Apollonius*, by M. Lenain de Tillemont, p. 15.

² Cf. *Abridgment of Roman History* (Eutropius), b. 7, c. xiii.; Suetonius, *Aug.*, xliii.

emperor, who, with Agrippina seated near him, presided.¹

The battle was fought by condemned criminals, and much blood was shed. Apollonius thanked the gods that the distance intervening between him and this brutal exhibition was too great to make him a compulsory witness of it. There are abundant coins and medals commemorating this historical event.²

While in Lesbos, Apollonius visited the temple of Orpheus at Mytilene, whom he held in high esteem for his many virtues. He is said to have lulled to sleep the dragon that guarded the golden fleece, and such was his power upon a lyre, presented him by Apollo, that he could enchant wild beasts, serpents, birds, and trees. He perished at the hands of the Thracian women who, in a sexual frenzy, stripped the flesh from his bones because he treated their charms with contempt. In this temple Apollonius sacrificed to the memory of Pittacus, a philosopher, one of the seven wise men of Greece, and a native of Mytilene. He slew Phrynon, the leader of the Athenians, in single combat, for which he was venerated by his country. He was also celebrated as a poet, and many of his elegiacs Apollonius declares were full of tenderness; expressive of great sorrow. Pittacus ruled ten years in Lesbos and resigned his charge. His sepulture was at Mytilene.³

¹ Cf. *Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers siècles de l'église*, par Sébastien Lenain de Tillemont, 6 vols. (1700).

² *Catalogue of Greek, Italian, Sici-*

lian, Macedonian, etc., Coins, by R. S. Poole (London), 7 vols.; vol. i. p. 4.

³ There is a bronze medallion extant, bearing the effigy of Pittacus, and on the reverse the portrait of the poet Alcæus, who was exiled.

At Mytilene Apollonius was the guest of Polemon, the preceptor of Tiberius, and son of Lesbonax, the stoic. And he also attended the theater where Polemon was honored with a marble chair in the front among the civil and religious dignitaries of the city; the seat rested upon lions' legs, with serpents entwined, and on which was the inscription ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΟΣ Τὸ ΑΕΣΒΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΙΠΟΕΔΡΙΑ. "The place of honor of Polemon, son of Lesbonax." He was furnished with a passport by Tiberius in this form, "If any one dare to injure Polemon, the son of Lesbonax, let him consider whether he will be strong enough to wage war with Tiberius." Apollonius spent one season at Mytilene in Lesbos, and in the autumn directed, according to a long-cherished desire, his steps toward Athens, the Paris of antiquity.

They took ship at Mytilene and sailed from the south port, but were detained nearly two days in consequence of a dispute between the master of the vessel and the father of an Armenian girl. The difficulty arose from some misunderstanding about the price the captain was to pay the father for the services of the girl as his companion during the voyage. Their difficulties were finally settled to the satisfaction of all the parties, except those who had taken passage in the ship. The girl was particularly pleased; she appeared to have escaped a great tyranny. Apollonius deprecated this monstrous evil which prevails in all the maritime ports of Greece and Ionia.¹ From Mytilene they sailed directly for Samos, passing to the left of Chios, which

¹ *Travels of Antenor*, vol. ii. p. 216; *Lenain de Tillemont*, vol. iv. p. 86; *Marriage Rites*, etc., by Lady Hamilton, p. 73 (1822).

was kept in sight the greater portion of the second day out, and on the third day they arrived at the harbor of Samos. "Samos," said Apollonius to his disciples, "was one of the mightiest states of Greece in the days of Polycrates (B. C. 552) and a rival of Athens in the days of Pericles" (B. C. 460). It was to Apollonius sacred ground, for here Pythagoras, Anacreon, and Mandrocles (who built the bridge over the Bosphorus) were born, and from which they were driven by imperial oppression. While remaining in port, Apollonius embraced the opportunity of visiting the great temple and the celebrated statue of Juno by Smilis, the Greek sculptor,¹ at Heræum, about twenty stadia distant, and here, as in most other Greek cities, the route was over a magnificently paved road, called the *Sacred Way*, which was crowded with a procession of pomp and wealth, and bordered by the tombs of the most celebrated of Samos. The temple of Hera is one of the richest and most splendid of Greece, and was of great antiquity. The goddess stood erect, was veiled, and clad in a long chiton.²

There had been a long, and it was still an unsettled, dispute, whether the cult of Hera was older at Samos or Argos. Juno had also a temple at Rome, where she was styled Moneta, and she is represented upon medals with the instruments of coinage, the hammer, the anvil, the pincers, and the die, with the Latin word Moneta. Buneus, son of Mercury, is said to have erected a temple to her at Corinth. Pliny says, she had a temple adorned with paintings under the name of Juno Ardia.

¹ There was another of this goddess, by the same artist, at Argos.

² See *Strabo* and *Titus Livius* and *Herodotus*.

Upon a medal of Salonius, she is represented as a stag. She was worshiped in Syria, Lybia, and Egypt (As-tarte and Isis).¹

Apollonius thinks that there is but little value to be attached to these vain phantoms, and that the history of Samos is but a tissue of myths and fables little to be relied upon.²

The coins of Samos, which are numerous, incline more to a religious enthusiasm than to art or history. Hera, or Juno, is fully represented on the beautiful Samian coins of almost every period.³

¹ The worship of Diana (also Hera and Juno in Gaul) under the name of Lady Abunde, with feasts, races, and dancing, was extant to the sixth century.—See Dulaure, *Histoire de Paris*, first ed. vol. v. p. 259; also, *Glossar: verbis Diana et Hoida*.

² *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients*, etc., by the Abbé Banier, vol. ii. p. 243.

³ The study of Samian coins is, from their great variety, interesting and profitable from the fact that they pick up segments of its lost history.—See *Samos and Samian Coins*, by P. Gardner, M. A. (Macmillan & Co., 1882).

There seems, from these coins, no break in the veneration of the Samians for their pagan deities up to and into the fifth century.

The form in which Hera appears on Samian coins of imperial times bears a close resemblance to the well-known shape of the Ephesian Artemis at Ephesus and Perga,

with the sun and moon on either side of her head. The local goddess was Artemis, and, like Aphrodite, Persephone, and Mylitta, she was the patroness of sexual desire.—Gardner's *Samos and Samian Coins* (1882). Here was also a sanctuary to Poseidon. In fact, no Roman sea-port was complete without a temple dedicated to this god of ocean and navigation. There were other cults in Samos; it was a religious hot-bed. They had many shrines, as that of Aphrodite, established by Athenian courtesans who accompanied the army of Pericles when he besieged Samos; also the shrines of Demeter, Athene, and of Hermes.

The prevailing type of all the Samian coins was the lion or bull's head or scalp, sometimes head and shoulders and fore feet; this was also true of the Lesbian coins, and there appears to have been a compact between them of which history is silent; but they were known by the letters A. E. (Lesbos), the

The voyage from Samos to Athens was delightful for that time of the year, it being autumn, at which season the Grecian seas are specially noted for their tempestuousness. A genial and pacific atmosphere and an unruffled sea afforded Apollonius an opportunity of introspecting and enjoying the beautiful scenery of the islands of the Eubean archipelago; and on the evening of the first day the calmness of the water, the cloudless sky, and the setting sun, as it now tinged the receding heights of Lemnos, while the shades of evening were gathering around the summits of Chios, contributed to produce a scene of dazzling beauty: never to be effaced from memory. Apollonius remained out until late at night, and when he came on deck the next morning, far away on their left they could just discern the island of Naxos, rendered famous by Ariadne; and during the day, the wind continuing light but favorable, they sailed between the islands Paros and Delos, the green fields and rocky summits of both being in full view. The latter island, said Apollonius, is the most memorable of all the archipelago. It was the birthplace of Apollo and Diana and Homer.¹ It has temples to Apollo, Diana, Latona, Serapis, Isis, and Anubis,² and here was kept the great statue of Venus by Dædalus, presented by him to

Samian by Σ. Α. or Σ Α Μ Ι (Samos). Nearly all the imperial coins from Augustus, B. C. 30, to Gallienus, A. D. 270, are interesting as representing local myths,—all of which have the head of Hera, except one of Domitian having two peacocks; one of Valerian Nemesis

veiled fore-part of a galley, Domitian.

¹ It is known that Homer officiated as a priest of Apollo at Delos.—*Hymns of Homer*, p. 18.

² Plutarch says they are the most stately structures in the universe (vol. iii. p. 98).

Ariadne, and by her to Theseus, and by Theseus to Delos. So very sacred did the ancients regard the island of Delos that no hostilities were practiced there. Even by nations that were at war with one another, all contentions ceased when they entered the waters of Delos. It was called "Daughter of the Ocean."¹ During the day they sighted Syros, Cythnus, Gyarus, and Ceos, Apollonius in the mean time discoursing upon their history, productions, and philosophy. He said the first colonies sent out by Greece settled at Lesbos and founded six cities; after which, in their turn, twelve colonies were founded upon the islands Samos,² Chios, Miletus, Myus, Priene, and at Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus Teos; other bands founded cities in Crete and Rhodes. The Laconians founded Cnidus. At first the inhabitants of these islands were constantly engaged in piracy. But when Minos, king of Crete, established a fleet, he drove the pirates out and settled colonists there, and the Greeks who at first lived inland for greater safety have now removed their towns near the sea-shore for the sake of commerce. Damis became restless under these conversations, and when he could endure it no longer charged Apollonius with wasting time on subjects old and obsolete, when there were others of much greater moment within reach. "And what subject," said Apollonius, "do you consider preferable to the history and colonization of these islands by the Greeks?" "You tell us," rejoined

¹ Livy says the war-ships of Perseus of Macedon and Eumenes of Pergamus rode peaceably side by side in the harbor of Delos, while a war of extermination was being carried on between them without.

² Gardner's *Samos and Samian Coins*.

Damis, "that you have conversed with Achilles, and have found out from him many things of which we are ignorant. Why not inform us of them, and give us the express form and countenance of the man instead of these conversations about passing islands and ship-building?" "You shall hear it all," said Apollonius. "I obtained the honor of conversing with Achilles, not, after the manner of Ulysses, by digging a trench, nor by cooking his manes by the blood of lambs; but I accomplished it with prayers addressed to that god, and who was pleased to hear and answer them. Achilles appeared to me in the form of a youth about five cubits high, dressed in a Thessalian mantle. His countenance was not expressive of that pride and haughtiness with which the Greeks have charged him." He then recounted the conversation: How that Polyxena perished by her own hand, and was not slain by the Greeks. How that Helen was never at Troy; that after her second marriage she was sent to Rhodes, where she was strangled in a bath; and that the Rhodians erected a temple to her under the title of Helen Entitris. Also the reason why Homer never mentioned Palamedes, and the information concerning his tomb. This was all that passed on shipboard.

The sea continuing tranquil and the weather mild, Apollonius remained on deck all night, that he might hail the point Sunium, sacred to Minerva and Neptune, an old and revered custom among the Greeks. They passed the point just as the sun rose bright and clear upon the blue waters of the Saronic Gulf, and the temple of Sunium¹ gleamed resplendently in his rays.

¹ Minerva and Neptune, constructed of white Parian marble.

On the fifth day out they entered the harbor of Piræus, the sea-port of Athens, founded by Pericles, a city into which poured the riches of the world,¹ and which is surrounded by a wall extending to Athens, forty stadia long, sixty feet high, and so thick that two chariots may drive abreast on the top of it. Apollonius says the harbor and basin were lined with ships, and the docks were covered with warehouses and bazaars. The town contained many temples of native and alien gods. Here Zeus was worshiped as the saviour of mankind. He did not tarry at Piræus, but proceeded at once to the most prosperous city of Greece, and the noblest of the world,² but whose glory was now being overshadowed by the imperial despotism of Rome. The noteworthy objects along the road were the tombs, the most illustrious of which, observed by Damis, were those

¹ Piræus was the harbor and place of commercial business of Athens (four and one-half miles distant), and it was thronged with the various appliances and elements of commerce. All the finest products of Sicily, of Italy, the Pontus, Peloponnesus, and the far East, "Athens, by her empire of the sea, is able to collect into one spot," says Xenophon. The commerce of the world and the purity of Athenian coin procured it a universal circulation. It is uncertain where the ἀργυροκοπὴν or mint was situated, but in a state so celebrated as Athens for silver coin it must have been a building of importance. Banking was a flourishing trade at Athens. Bankers received deposits at call,

or upon interest, the usual rate being one per cent. per menseur. The temples also, whose sacred character made them places of great security, took people's spare money and valuables in safe keeping.

The shrine of Apollo at Delphos was a famous "bank of deposit," and it was from these sources that Apollonius's immediate wants were supplied, by loans made to him, he having a large amount to his credit in some temple, probably Æsculapius, at Tarsus.

² Cf. *Encyclopædia Brit.*; *The Topography of Athens, with some Remarks on its Antiquities*, by William Martin Leake, 2 vols. (London, 1841), vol. i. p. 365; Pausanias, *Att.* ii. 2.

of Menander and Euripides; the latter was empty; he was buried in Macedonia. Near the gate by which they entered Athens, Apollonius observed a statue of a soldier, standing by a horse. "Who it is, I know not!" said he, "but both horse and soldier are the work of Praxiteles."¹ Just inside the walls (they entered Athens by the road that passes straight through the city and leads to the Academy, about eighty stadia beyond the Dipylum Gate, which was shaded with cypresses), they first came upon the temple of Ceres, containing a statue of Ceres, Proserpine, and Iacchus. Here was the tomb of Pericles; there the resting-place of Thrasybulus, and the altars of the Muses and of Mercury, of Hercules, and of Minerva.² And this, apostrophized Apollonius, is Athens, which for ages has furnished light and science to the world, where genius, wisdom, and taste have reached their highest perfection, and from which Rome, with all her boastful originality, borrowed all she now has. Here Zeno retired from his native Cyprus, and was so impressed with the teachings of Socrates as to become a pupil of Stilpo, a native of Megara, the successor of Diogenes and Plato. Zeno's stainless reputation won favor for his philosophy, and he taught stoicism in Athens fifty-eight years. The confidence reposed in him as a teacher by the Athenians, and he a foreigner,³ was a glorious testimony to the character of Zeno. And here also lived and reigned Pericles, the stoic, the greatest of all statesmen, the

¹ These figures were standing on a tomb; it is uncertain whose.—*Pausanias*.

Gate Hippades, Ἰππαδὸν.

² *Topography of Athens* (Leake), vol. i. pp. 62-108.

³ *Life of Zeno*, Ritter, Zeno Philosophus.

most eloquent of all orators, the most dignified of all citizens, and the most beloved of all men. The day of their arrival was the first day, ἀγυρμός, or day of the assembly or the preparation for celebrating the Eleusinian mysteries. This great gathering always took place at Athens during the month Βοηδρομιών (September and October), and lasted nine days, and two women born of unlawful wedlock presided each day; on the third day was the sacrifice of flour and cakes; on the fourth day the procession proceeded to Eleusis, about one hundred stadia distant, along the Sacred Way, the two presiding women carrying the sacred laws on their heads; during the procession no person was permitted to ride. On the fifth day they walked the streets the night long, in imitation of the search which Ceres made for her daughter; the rites of the sixth day, however, were in honor of Ceres and Proserpine, embodying the great dogma of death and resurrection. A great portion of these festivities were gross, vulgar, and scandalous in the extreme. The phallus, corresponding with the Hindoo *yoni* and *lingam*, was carried in the procession, and was the subject of vulgar jests. All this ended in the sacrament of bread and wine.¹ The city was crowded with people from all parts of Greece, who had come together more for pleasure than piety, and yet there was more piety than morality—the show-bills upon the walls and public places proclaimed it

¹ *Essai sur les mystères à Eleusis*, N. Y., 1875); see also *Encyclopædia Ouwaroff* (Paris, 1816); *Topography Britannica*, Eleusinia; *Symbolic of Athens* (Leake), vol. i. pp. 3-483; *Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*, etc., by R. Payne Knight, Esq., pp. 5, 15, etc.; Bryant's *Antient Mythology*, vol. i. p. 229.

rather the saloon of Venus than the temple of Vesta; a court more meet for the voluptuary than the philosopher.¹ At this period Athens was also ripe in all political intrigues. She had her party bosses, her Tweeds, her Kellys; her financial tyrants, her Jay Goulds and her Vanderbilts. Her offices were alternately filled with an army of turbulent vultures. Eighteen hundred years ago that infamous maxim which has been the curse of American politics, "To the victors belong the spoils," was enforced to the bitter end.

Apollonius was recognized and acknowledged by the people as he approached and passed through the crowd, amid greetings and acclamations of joy, regardless of the sacredness of the occasion. But he charged them to attend to the sacred rites, and that he would speak his mind to them at a more convenient time, as he wished to be initiated himself at the Epidaurian, or eighth-day festival.² But when the intention of Apollonius of presenting himself for initiation became

¹ *Travels of Antenor*, translated by E. F. Lantier, vol. iii. p. 334.

² *Veil of Isis* (Reade); *Topography of Athens* (Leake), vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

The eighth day of the mysteries was called the day of the Epidaurians, because Æsculapius, coming from Epidaurus to Athens, and desiring to be initiated, the lesser mysteries were repeated; hence it became necessary to celebrate them a second time on that day, and to initiate those who had not enjoyed that privilege.—See *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients, Explained from History*, by the Abbé Banier, 4 vols. (London, 1740), art. Eleusis;

Initiation of Apuleius in the Golden Ass, c. xi.; cf. *Isis Unveiled: A Master Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, by H. P. Blavatsky (Bouton, New York, 1877), vol. ii. p. 44; *Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries: A Dissertation*, by Thomas Taylor, edited by Alex. Wilder, M. A. (1875); see also *Herodotus*, ii. 81; *On Egyptian and Pythagorean Mysteries; Ancient Symbol Worship*, p. 12; *Progress of Religious Ideas*, etc., by Lydia M. Child, vol. ii. p. 308; *A Discourse on the Worship of the Priapus*, by Richard Payne Knight (London, 1865).

known to the hierophant, the revealer of holy things, who had charge of the ceremonies, he would not admit him, saying, that he was not permitted by the laws to initiate an enchanter, or reveal the Eleusinian mysteries to a man not pure in things touching religion.¹ Apollonius was unmoved by his refusal, and replied that the hierophant had, in his ignorance, overlooked the only real objection to his initiation; it being that "I know more of the ceremonies of initiation than you do." When the hierophant became sensible that he had made a mistake, he prayed Apollonius to accept the rites at his hands; to which he replied that he would wait until the ceremony should have another premier.

During his residence in Athens, Apollonius became familiar with the grace and grandeur of the Arcopagus (Ἀρχαῖον πύργον), or the hill of Mars (arsenal-fortress),² and with the Acropolis or Cecropian Hill, just to the east of it, with its Dionysiac theater, then undergoing repairs.³ No other inclosure on earth embraced so much beauty within its walls.⁴ Its three great structures were the Propylæa,⁵ the Erechtheum, and the

¹ Nero, the emperor, was refused initiation on account of his mother's murder, and, notwithstanding his threats, they persisted in their refusal; and Constantine could find no pagan priest who would consent to absolve him from his murders. He became a Christian, and procured absolution.—*Philosophy of History; or, A Philosophical and Historical Dissertation*, etc. etc., by Voltaire (London, 1829), p. 219.

² Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 360.

³ This description is wonderfully confirmed on an ancient coin of Athens (British Museum). A curious medal represents the great Athenian theater viewed from the plain below. Its proscenium and carved fronts, and its gradation of seats, are distinctly seen. Above the theater rises the wall of the Acropolis, over the center of which is seen the Parthenon, and to the left the Propylæa.

⁴ *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 86.

⁵ *Topography of Athens* (Leake), vol. i. pp. 5-86.

Parthenon, temple of Minerva, or Virgin-house (227 feet long, 101 wide, with 46 columns 6 feet in diameter each at the base), containing a colossal figure of the invincible virgin, by Phidias. The ancient coins of Athens have furnished us with many interesting facts concerning this gigantic statue.¹ There were three statues of Minerva in the Acropolis. There was a small circular temple, in front of the Parthenon,² dedicated to Augustus, erected soon after he attained to the Eleusinian mysteries; also in front of the Parthenon stood Apollo Parnopius, by Phidias; also the statue of Pericles.³ The Acropolis contained statues of Diana, Epicharmus, CEnobius, Theseus, Hercules, Minerva, Jupiter, and Neptune. There was a little temple on Acropolis Hill, dedicated to Niki-Apteros,⁴ the decorations of which were attributed to Scopas and his school; it contained a statue of Victory without wings. Apollonius saw this; it had disappeared in the time of Pausanias, a few years later.⁵ There was a view of the sea from the summit of this temple, and it was from here that Ægeus threw himself, and perished.⁶ Apollonius described the Acropolis in its pride and glory as one grand offering to the gods, surpassing in excellence, richness, and beauty all other offerings of man.⁷ The

¹ *Topography of Athens, with some Remarks on its Antiquity*, by William Martin Leake, of the Dilettanti (London), 2 vols. 1841.

² *Topography of Athens*, etc., vol. i. p. 356.

³ *Hist. of Greek Sculpture* (Murray), p. 241.

⁴ Νίκη Ἀπτερυγία, *A Short History of Art* (De Forest), p. 72.

⁵ *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 56.

⁶ *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands*, by H. W. Williams, Esq., 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1820), vol. ii. p. 295.

⁷ The authentic history of the Athenian Acropolis reaches back from the present time to a period scarcely less than three thousand four hundred years ago. It undoubtedly

Panthcon, the temples of Diana, Minerva, and Venus, the Dionysiac theater, just without its walls, on lower ground, and, if it were less fresh and beautiful, it possessed more interest than in the days of Pericles. Just over upon the plains (to the south-east) towered the majestic columns of the temple of Jupiter Olympus,¹ described by Apollonius as one of the most magnificent structures in the world, convenient to which was the temple of Serapis, near the gate Hadrian. The temple

was originally the city (ἡ πόλις, the city Acropolis). No other fortress has embraced so much beauty and splendor within its walls, nor was any ever surrounded by so much magnificence without; none has witnessed a series of more startling and momentous changes in the fortunes of its possessors. Wave after wave of war and conquest have beaten against it. The city which lies at its feet has fallen beneath the assaults of the Persian, the Spartan, the Macedonian, and the Roman. It has opened its gates to the barbaric hordes of Alaric, and the not less savage robbers of Catalonia. It has passed from the representatives of the Crusaders into the hands of the Ottoman Sultans, and the shrine of Athena has seen the offerings of heathenism give place to the ritual of Greek and Latin Christianity, and these in their turn succeeded by the cold and lifeless ceremonials of Islam. Through all these and other vicissitudes it has passed, changing only in the character of its occupants — unchanged in its loveliness and splendor. With a few blem-

ishes and losses, whether from the decaying taste of later times, or the occasional robberies of a foreign conqueror, unaffected in its general aspect, it presented to the eyes of the victorious Ottoman the same front of unparalleled beauty which it had displayed in the days of Pericles. The professors of new creeds had worshiped within its beautiful temples; but beneath the deep blue of the Athenian sky, and the dazzling splendor of the Athenian sun, the shrine of the gray-eyed goddess, and the hall of Erechtheus, had lost but little of their early glory, long after one had become a mosque and the other a harem. To him who looks upon it now the scene is changed, not only in the loss of its treasures of decorative art (for of many of these it had been robbed before), but with its loveliest fabrics shattered, many reduced to hopeless ruin, and not a few utterly obliterated.

¹ *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 18; *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. i. p. 225.

of Jupiter Olympus¹ was founded by Deucalion, and its structure commenced by Pisistratus (B. C. 530), under whom some progress was made; Phidias was employed in adorning it, and the throne and the statue of the god were his master-pieces; but the broils that followed upon the death of Pisistratus left the temple unfinished for nearly three hundred years; B. C. 174 it was still unfinished, and Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, employed a Roman architect, named Cossutius, to proceed with it. On the death of Antiochus the work dragged along, some of the columns were carried to Rome, and utilized in the Capitoline. The work was not again resumed until the time of Augustus, when the kings and states in his alliance agreed to finish it at their joint expense. After the death of Augustus work was again suspended upon the nearly completed temple, and it was this condition of the noble edifice which Apollonius describes to us. It was finally dedicated under Hadrian, six hundred and fifty years from its foundation.²

¹ *Topography of Athens*, vol. i. p. 129.

² Apollonius has given us some invaluable hints concerning Athens, and fortunate it is, indeed, that the works of Pausanias, who made the tour of Athens about the year 170 A. D., have been preserved to us. With the exception of those two travelers, Athens is a sealed book from 52 B. C. to the fifth century, A. D. Haydn, in his chronology, closes events with Athens B. C. 47, and opens again A. D. 396. *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, there was

a chasm of seven centuries of repose in the history of Athens. When the world shall become just enough to mete out to the villains who destroyed these records the anathemas they deserve, instead of extolling their virtues to the skies, we may then hope for more fairness in modern historical deductions, and not till then. So long as men persist in declaring that the meager amount of stoic virtue and stoic morality, which has struggled along for eighteen hundred years, in spite of Christianity, is all due to that

His opportunities for observation were of the highest order, being in favor with the people of the city and the priests of the temples. His time was passed in associations of the first circles. Athens at this period was the great center, whither flocked persons from every quarter of the known world in pursuit of gain, instruction, and pleasure. The philosophic schools, however, were now under surveillance and in a forced decline, and yet hundreds of students were attracted to the lecture-rooms, some for amusement, others for instruction. It was the seat of the Muses, of wit, eloquence, laws, and learning. But few, says Philostratus, of the academic world of Athens were native-born. Aliens rose to posts of honor, like Sollianus, the first occupant of the Athenian chair. And it was complained that the schools and academy were patronized by such a multitude of foreigners that they had corrupted the Attic tongue.¹

Thither also resorted the Syrian silk merchant of Antioch, the corn factor of Egypt, the Parthian spice

faith, there is but little hope of the regeneration of mankind. We barely know that the Isthmian (*Banier*, iv. 436), Pythian (*Ibid.* iv. 432), and Nemean (*Ibid.* iv. 435) games were still celebrated; the Roman colony still indulged in the slaughtering of wild beasts in the theater; and the temples were generally opened and patronized until the middle of the fifth century, or to the reign of Theodosius.—*The Topography of Athens, with some Remarks on its Antiquity*, by William Martin Leake, of the Dilettanti, vol. i. p. 49.

¹ *Philostratus*, ii. p. 62.

Here too are now preserved the records of the greatest of all modern scientific societies, "The London, Berlin, and Greek Anthropological Society of Athens." It was near Athens where those truly celebrated terra-cotta images known as the Tanagra Figurines were disinterred. A collection of these beautiful specimens is now in the Boston Art Museum, the gift of G. T. Appleton, Esq. In the rage for these matchless relics eight thousand tombs have been rifled.

dealer, the negro in the train of the Carthaginian proconsul, the Iberian with his consignment of silver and of iron, and the Massilian Gaul with the wines of Narbonne. In the middle of the great square were congregated the slave-dealers, with lash and rod, with victims of every age and sex, while in full sight stood the profaned "Altar of Pity." One of the favorite resorts of Apollonius at Athens was the portico called the Pæcile Stoa, adorned with frescoes by Polygnotus, the greatest painter of the Cimonian period. It was one of the monuments of this wonderful city. He was also a daily visitor at the gymnasia, of which there were three in Athens, the Cynosarges, the Lyceum, and the Academy. Another favorite resort was the Agora,¹ or the markets or marts of trade. Here was the ἀγορά γυναικεία, or shops where goods were sold peculiarly for women; flour market; ready-made clothing; butcher's meat and fish; another devoted to ointments, pottery, vases, garlic, onions, perfumes, cheese, etc. The booksellers' shops were called βιβλιοθηκῆ and had their special locality,² There were also galleries of art-sculpture by the great masters of antiquity.³ And for aught we know to the contrary Apollonius may have looked with admiration upon that matchless work of art, the statue of Demeter (Ceres), found at Athens

¹ Planned by the celebrated architect Hippodaurus.

² To the present day this is substantially the division of every bazaar in any important city of Greece. — *Topography of Athens*, vol. i. p. 487. Cf. *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands*, etc., by H.

W. Williams, Esq., vol. ii. p. 287, etc.

³ *St. Paul at Athens*, etc., by Charles Shakespeare (London, 1878); *Archæologia Græca, or the Antiquities of Greece*, by John Porter, D. D. (1875), vol. i. p. 1, etc.

(in whose honor the sixth day of the Mysteries of Eleusis was devoted), and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.¹ Here was also the statue of Athene Parthenon, the virgin goddess of Athens, still glittering in ivory and gold. It was thirty-six feet high, the work of Phidias, and perished at Constantinople in the sixteenth century. We are furnished impressions of it upon the early coins of the period. Here were also the great galleries of art—for Nero had not yet robbed Greece of her master-pieces.²

Such was the condition of Athens when (A. D. 59) Apollonius held forth from the same porch in advocacy of the same philosophy that, five hundred years before, had echoed to the wisdom of Socrates, and on one occasion discoursed from the very words of Socrates, "How many things there are which I do not want."³ Damis says that he delivered many discourses both in the temples to the priests, and in the stoa to the people, he having preserved only portions of those on

¹ M. Colignon has published a well-executed catalogue of the painted vases in the Museum of the Archæological Society of Athens. Books of the kind are always helpful to science. In this case the author has followed the really classic models afforded by M. de Witte, in his description of the famous Durand collection, and by Otto Jahn, M. Stephani, and M. Heydemann in their Catalogues of the Vases in the Museums of Munich, St. Petersburg, and Naples. The reading of this catalogue makes one keenly regret the too long delay in the ap-

pearance of M. Albert Dumont's great work on *Les Céramiques de la Grèce Propre*."

² *Philostratus, Suetonius, Tacitus*.

³ See following works, *Biographical History of Philosophy* (Geo. H. Lewes), *Encyclopædia Britannica* (art. Socrates), *Life of Socrates* (Carpenter), *Life of Socrates* (Ritter), *Worth of Socrates as a Philosopher* (Schleiermacher), *Neue Apologie des Socrates* (Eberhard), *Socratische Denkwürdigkeiten* (Hamann), for comparisons between these two philosophers.

the most important subjects.¹ And when he found that the people of Athens were in all things superstitious and much given to religion, he made Sacrifice the subject of several discourses. Athens was not intolerant, she was simply religious; not a city of philosophers only, but of priests,—a city of Eleusinian mysteries, famed through all lands—pomp of ritual, of fragrance, of incense, sacrifice, and magnificent temples, of consecrated statues of gods and heroes,—these were hers preëminently above any city on earth.

There was a young man at Athens, a native of Corcyra, and descended from Alcinous, who entertained Ulysses so well of old.² This young man insulted Apollonius by immoderate bursts of laughter while he was talking, whereupon he looked steadfastly upon him and said: "It is not you whom I consider as offering me this insult, but the demon within you." The young man then laughed and cried by turns without any apparent cause; he even sang and talked to himself. As soon as Apollonius fixed his eyes upon him, the demon began to cry aloud and broke out into angry and horrid expressions and swore, begged that he might be left alone and he would depart out of the youth and never enter another. Apollonius commanded him to depart, whereupon the young man was in great agony and then relapsed into a quiet state, as if coming out of a trance. He then

¹ From the frequent mention by Damis that he only preserved a portion of the lectures of Apollonius, we are led to believe that Philostratus had a great volume of the philosophy of Apollonius, and it is to

be regretted that he did not embody it in his sketch of him.—See also Tillemont's *Histoire des Empereurs*, etc., vol. v. p. 321; *cf.* also with *D'Aussy*, *Berwick* and *Newman*.

² *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 317.

laid aside the soft Sybarite garments, and adopted the garb of a philosopher, and became a disciple of Apollonius. This was in A. D. 54.¹ Claudius, who had been poisoned by his second wife, Agrippina, was succeeded by Nero,² a youth of seventeen, a son of Agrippina by her former husband, Domitius.³

At Athens, Apollonius corrected many abuses of the temples; but the people refused generally the advice of philosophers and rushed in crowds to witness the combats of gladiators.⁴ Adulterers, fornicators, house-

¹ During the same year Philo Judeas published his two great works describing the sufferings of the Jews under Caligula.

² *Cuji Suetonii Tranquilli Opera et in illa Commentarius*, etc. (1590), vol. ii. p. 141.

³ Nero began his reign A. D. 54, and Seneca, the stoic and tutor of Nero, was elevated to minister of state.—Tillemont's *Histoire des Empereurs*, etc.

⁴ And let me charge the reader to make no mistake about the moral and religious reformation which was taking place at this time under the direction of Apollonius, or soon after Paul wrote his epistles and visited Rome. This was a pagan and not a Christian reformation; presbyters, elders, bishops, are of pagan and not Christian origin, and existed hundreds of years anterior to Christianity.—*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 498. In a little book entitled *St. Paul at Athens*, etc., being nine sermons preached in St. Stephen's Church, Westbourne Park,

by Charles Shakespeare, B. A., Assistant Curate, with a Preface by Rev. Canon Farrar, D. D. (London, 1878), on pages 86, 87, etc., we find that "there were many martyrs who perished for philosophy, or rather the virtue which it inspired. Under its influence a humanizing spirit breathed itself into the foremost minds, and toward the close of the century made itself felt in the palace of the Cæsars, such was the religious tone and bent of what was called philosophy in the first century and part of the second (Christianity had not in the mean time been heard of. Athens did not become Christian until five hundred years after Paul's preaching, and then her people and temples were converted by armed forces)." The gladiatorial games, the shambles, where men were butchered to make a Roman holiday, were discontinued; and it was a philosopher who dared, when it was proposed to introduce the Roman amphitheater at Athens, to say, "First, then, Athenians, tear

breakers, cut-purses, men-stealers, were bought at high prices and armed and forced to fight against each other for the amusement of citizens and strangers. This barbarous custom was most severely censured by Apollonius. He refused to attend the assembly of the poets and philosophers at the Athenæum on the ground that it was polluted, impure, and tainted with blood. In one of his epistles he expressed surprise that the goddess Minerva had not abandoned her citadel, such was the pollution of her temples; but although eloquence, poetry, art, and philosophy have declined from the glorious perfection of the days of Pericles, yet Minerva and the Muses have never deserted Athens,¹ and it has ever remained the center of Hellenic culture.²

Apollonius remained at Athens two years, at the expiration of which period he accepted an embassy to the Thessalians, in obedience to a command of Achilles.³ They were at this time assembled at Thermopylæ⁴

down your altars erected to Mercy.”
 “And I tell you, my brethren, we shall miss the real lesson to be learned from these facts if we assume, as is too often assumed in a polemical interest, that such philosophy was a plagiarism either of Judaism or of Christianity.”—
Charles Shakespeare, B. A.

¹ This was the famous statue of Minerva, composed of ivory and gold, the work of Phidias, and was erected by Pericles in the Pantheon at Athens, B. C. 456. This was the statue in the construction of which Phidias is said to have stolen a part of the gold intended for its construction. The charge Phidias re-

futed. The temple in which it was placed is now called Santa Maria Ægyptiaca; there was a little chapel within it in the form of Christ's sepulture. An ancient coin of Athens (B. C. 470) of the age of Pericles is still extant, with the head of Minerva on one side and the habitual owl on the other.—Cf. *Topography of Athens* (Leake), vol. i. p. 529.

² Cf. *Suetonius ; Antiquités de la Grèce en général et d'Athènes en particulier*, par Lambert (Bos, Paris, 1761), 8vo.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 161.

⁴ Larcher's *Notes*, c. v. 113.

(Amphietyonic council in the temple of Demeter).¹ The journey to Thermopylæ was performed by Apollonius and his disciples on foot, through Bœotia, Via Sacra or Cloven Way. On the evening of the third day out they arrived at Delphi, situated at the foot of Parnassus, in Phocis.² Here was established the most celebrated of all the oracles of Greece.³ They were conducted to the temple of Apollo, over the entrance of which was engraved, "Know Thyself"; on entering the temple they were purified with laurel water.⁴ Apollonius remained in the temple that night, which, says Damis, is a square edifice, built of fine stone, and erected under the superintendence of the architects Agamedes⁵ and Trophonius, and is approached by four avenues. One side of the temple is appropriated to the residence of the priests,⁶ and for all holy itinerants, and others whose presence will not desecrate the holy place. Apollonius arose the next morning with the sun, and performed his

¹ *Encyclopædia Brit.*, art. Amphietyony.

² Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, vol. ii. p. 426.

³ *Plutarch*, vol. ii. p. 119; *Travels of Antenor* (Lantier), vol. ii. p. 72.

⁴ *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (Müller), vol. i. p. 224.

⁵ *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 24.

⁶ These were pagan priests. Nineteen hundred years have passed, the temple has gone, the pediment adorned with Diana and Apollo and the Muses is gone. The fountain and the women Hyades are gone. The washerwoman has invaded the sacred fountain. A Christian priest occupies not the

temple, but a hovel; he still entertains travelers, although his house has but one room, twenty-five feet long, no furniture except two chests, a trough for making bread, a sieve, a few jars, some mugs, and a plenty of blankets, with a family of ten, his library, three books of scripture. There is no glass in the house; light enters through a square hole; the outside of the house is too filthy for description. Such was and such is Parnassus. The priest has never deserted it, he is the same persistent thing to-day as then; his line of descent is as clear, he has simply degenerated. Jupiter or Christ is all the same to him; only feed him.

devotions to that luminary.¹ The priest who had charge of the temple, and whose office it was to fix crowns of laurel to the doors, the altars, and tripods, and to draw the waters of lustration in a golden vessel from the fountain Castalis with which to sprinkle the pavement, the gate, and the laurel crowns, arose at the same moment, and joined Apollonius in his devotion. The Pythiæ² who uttered the oracle from the tripod were not admitted to their high office under fifty years of age.³ At first virgins only were admitted, but one of them having been violated by a Thessalian named Echebrates, they afterward chose women over fifty, who simply wore the habit of virgins.⁴ This temple contained a statue of Codrus, the last king of Athens, by Phidias. The oracle had declared that if the Dorians killed Codrus, they would not conquer Attica. The Attic king hearing of this went in disguise to the Dorian camp, picked a quarrel, and was killed.⁵ Apollonius remained but a short time at Delphi,⁶ and in two stages

¹ Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, v. 114.

² *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients*, etc., by Abbé Banier, vol. i. p. 283.

³ Inman's *Ancient Faiths*, etc., vol. ii. p. 540.

⁴ Tillemont's *Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes*, etc.

⁵ A bronze medal bears the portrait of Codrus.

Nero removed five hundred brazen images from the sacred precincts of this temple, and Constantine destroyed the remainder.

Cræsus had sent Æsop with a

treasure of gold to make a magnificent offering to Apollo, and to distribute four minæ to each of the Delphians, but Æsop became displeased with them, offered up the sacrifice, but sent the money back to Sardis. This so offended the Delphians that they accused him of having stolen some of the sacred vessels, and condemned him to be thrown down the rock.

⁶ The Amphictyonic council had its temple at Delphi, and the convention of the Boeotians, Phocians, Dorians, Eubœans, and Athenians still held alternate sessions here.

over the Locrian road he completed his journey to Thermopylæ. Here, out of respect to the memory of Leonidas, king of Sparta, who defended the Pass of Thermopylæ against Xerxes, he erected a chapel around his tomb, as he had to Palamedes'.

In answer to an inquiry of Damis, Apollonius said: "Nothing is more celebrated than the Amphictyonic council.¹ It was first assembled by Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, whose dominion was on the confines of Thermopylæ; after this they assembled twice a year, spring and autumn, in the temple of Ceres at Thermopylæ. No private causes were determined at this council, such being considered of too small consequence for such an august assembly. The business related to matters of war and religion, and the decrees were engraved upon marble columns."—*Arundel Marbles*.

Near the tomb of Leonidas was the hill where it was said the Lacedæmons fell, overwhelmed with arrows. Apollonius heard his friends disputing about which was considered the highest ground in Greece; he ascended the hill, and cried out: "This is the highest ground in Greece; the men who died here in defense of liberty

All Hellas yet participated in the Olympian, Nemean, Isthmian, and Pythian games, and the olive crown was still deemed the highest honor that could be conferred on mortals. But these rites had lost their meaning, and had no religious or political significance.—*The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, by C. O. Müller, vol. i. p. 279. The Amphictyonic synod was instituted 1498 B. C., and was the most influ-

ential of all the institutions of Greece. It was not discontinued until the close of the fourth century of the Christian era. Its immediate office was to attend to the oracle of Delphi, and was composed of twelve of the wisest and best men from all the cities of Greece. Apollonius was a delegate to this important council.

¹ Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, v. 113.

have raised this above many Olympuses. I love all these men, but above all Magistius the Acarnanian, who, foreknowing what they were to suffer, wished to share with them their fate, fearing not death, but fearing he might not be permitted to die with them."

Nero was now reigning at Rome. Apollonius visited all the temples of Greece, including the most distant oracle of Dodona in Epirus, at the source of the Thyamus River, nine hundred and twenty stadia from Thermopylæ, and had spent two days at Argos Amphiloichicum.¹ He knew the fame of the Pythian, had lodged in the temples of Abæ, and consulted the oracle of Apollo. He had entered the cave of Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and ascended the heights of the Helicon.² After this method he passed from province to province and temple to temple without distinction of sect, in an endeavor to purify the pagan worship, as he had done at Antioch, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Athens, establishing new parishes, bishops, presbyters, elders, and priests. In this work he was assisted by the priests of the temples and his disciples. He revised the pagan festivals, amended the rites of sacrifice and penance, during a period in which Paul is said to have instituted Christian churches in the same places.³

¹ There are records that the oracle of Dodona continued in favor until the fifth century. It had a Bishop and his See, and is in the imperial documents called Bonditza. The oracle is now in ruins, but a church named Bodista occupies a spot near its site, and seems to have inherited both its name and attributes.—Cf. *De Origine atque Auctoribus Orac-*

ulorum Veterum Ethnicorum, Dissertationes duæ (Anthony Van Dale, Amsterdam, 1700).

² See *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 70.

³ It was for the permanent establishment of the noble endurance which characterized the stoic philosophy that Apollonius labored. The culture initiated by Pericles, the wisdom embodied by Minerva, instead

After these itineraries Apollonius turned his face toward Athens, with the object, however, of immediately departing for Corinth.¹

At this time Demetrius, the philosopher, was at Corinth. He was a friend of Apollonius, a cynic, and a man who fully comprehended the entire force of the cynic philosophy;² he is mentioned with great respect by Favorinus in his orations. Demetrius felt the same zeal³ in favor of the wisdom of Apollonius, as Antis-

of being subjects of reminiscent delight, he intended to make an inspiration to practical reform there and then. And even in our day, although the halls of the philosophers are no more, yet schools of science abound, the plays of Sophocles are only a memory; yet the people of Athens have newspapers. Mythology is a poetic dream; yet popular education is a grand reality; Pallas Athene is dethroned; the days of naiads, satyrs, and titans are over; while those of the steam-engine and telegraph have come. Let the Greeks ever remember and obey the grand old inscription on the temple of the Delphic Apollo: "Know thyself"; "Let the dead past bury its dead."

¹ Athens, the greatest name of all Greece, does not hold its rank in monetary art; but although it did not rank high in point of art, yet it circulated more widely than the coin of any Grecian state. The Athenian coins bore the symbol of the tutelary deity, Minerva (Athena), the owl. They were issued in all the metals, and had a wide-spread commercial

value. Extant coins in the possession of collectors prove that Athens was in full tide of her commercial glory long after she had historically passed into oblivion. The complete blotting out of Athenian history must have been the work of omnipotent hands. And the fifth century of the Christian era found Athens sunk in a darkness greater than that from which it emerged ten centuries before. Her coins, however, escaped the despoiler, and hence we know the fact of her greatness, but are deprived of the detailed history.—H. Goltzii, *Græciæ universæ Asiæque Minoris et Insularum Numismata veterum*, p. 220.

² *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 163.

³ Demetrius was a cynic philosopher whom the Emperor Caligula wished to gain in his interests by large presents, but Demetrius refused them with indignation, and said, "If Caligula wishes to bribe me let him send me his crown." Vespasian afterward, during his reign, became displeased with his insolence, and banished him to an island.

thenes did for that of Socrates, which he gave as his reason for changing his philosophy and becoming a follower of Apollonius and for recommending him to his friends, of whom Menippus, a young Lycian, about twenty-five years of age, was one; he was intelligent and handsome, and, with his open, manly air of an athlete, won the esteem of Apollonius, concerning whom more will be said hereafter.

Apollonius, after visiting Marathon,¹ returned to Athens by the Eubœan road, and left the same day for Corinth by the Sacred Way, which begins at the temple of Theseus and the stoa Basileus and ends at Eleusis. It gains the open country at the gate Dipylum;² near this gate, just beyond the city walls on the Sacred Way, are the sepulchres of the Spartan polemarchs, Chæron, Thibarchus, and other Lacedæmonians killed in battle. There were also the sepulchres of Pericles, Chabrias, and Thrasybulus.³ But the most remarkable of all the monuments along this way before coming to the road which branches off to the academy of Plato, both for magnitude and ornament, were those of a Rhodian who dwelt in Athens, and the one built by Harpalus, a Macedonian, in honor of his wife Pythonice, who had been a courtesan at Athens and Corinth. Pausanias says the latter "was the most remarkable of all the sepulchral monuments of Greece." They turned aside to visit the academy where Plato taught, and which he

¹ Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, vi. 145.

² *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands*, etc., by H. W. Williams, vol. ii. p. 300, etc.

³ *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 85; *Herodotus*, ix. 35; *Thucydides*, i. 107; *Diodorus*, xi. 80; also *Philostrate de Vita Apolloni Tyanei, libri octo, græce* (1501).

in his day deserted for unhealthfulness. This school was surrounded with a wall built at a great expense by Hipparchus, and in ancient times it was a place of great sanctity; it was a profanation to laugh there. Inside the inclosure was an altar to Prometheus,¹ also an altar of the Muses, and another of Hermes, and within these again were those of Minerva and Hercules. The academy grounds also contained the garden of Attalus, where the sophist Lacydes had his school, a *βόηρος* (tank). Near to the academy on the other side of the road were many monuments of distinguished Athenians who had been slain in battle.² There is a temple on the road (Sacred Way) common to Venus and Apollo, at which Apollonius and his companions spent the night. Just beyond they came to a place called Erineus, where it is said that Pluto descended and carried off Proserpine. Apollonius classes all these as idle tales and fables.³

At Eleusis there is a temple to Triptolemus, another to Diana Propylæa, one to Neptune (father), and a well called Callichorum, where the Eleusinian women performed a lascivious dance and sang in honor of the goddess. And it is here the sacred barley, the sacrificial cakes, the mysterious rites, concerning which the uninitiated were not permitted even to inquire, were performed. These were the greatest mysteries of Greece, into which every one was desirous of being initiated. On approaching Eleusis from Athens, Apol-

¹ *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 91.

tanti, 2 vols. (London, 1841), vol. i. p. 593, etc.

² *The Topography of Athens, with some Remarks on its Antiquities*, by William Martin Leake, of the Dile-

³ *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. iii. p. 61.

lonius says the sacred buildings standing near the eastern entrance conceal the town, which on closer view augment the awe and reverence for the place. They represent the genius of Pericles, Phidias, Ictinus, Metegenes, and Philo.¹

On departing from Eleusis Apollonius continued his journey to Corinth, taking the road to Megara (ἡ Μεγαροποιή). At Megara he visited the temple of Apollo at the gate of the city, and was hospitably entertained by the priests. Near to this temple was the temple of Diana, which contained twelve statues of the gods; besides, there were statues of the goddesses Persuasion and Consolation by Praxiteles. The peculiar province of these goddesses was to attend newly married females.² Further on was the temple of Isis. Damis became interested in the history of Hyllus, son of Hercules, whose tomb was at Megara. He was slain in a single combat with Echenaus, the Arcadian, son of Æropeus.³ Here also the philosopher Euclid was born and flourished, and the Megarians struck a medal to his memory. The city and temples were much in decay and of little interest to Apollonius.⁴

While affairs were thus quietly transpiring in Greece (A. D. 56-57), disgraceful scenes were taking place in Rome, the capital. Nero, the monarch of an empire extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the River Eu-

¹ Coins of Eleusis are still common, representing Demeter drawn by dragons or serpents, inscribed ΕΑΕΥΣΙ within a wreath of ears of corn.

² *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, etc., by C. O. Müller, vol. i. p. 97, vol. ii. p. 186.

³ *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 119.

⁴ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

phrates, was wasting himself in debauchery and crime. He would pass whole nights in taverns, and even engage in drunken broils in the streets. After dark, with some of his mad companions, he would sally out in the public highway to attack, insult, and even rob the most respectable individuals. He would break into houses and shops and plunder them, and sell the goods thus stolen at auction the next day in the palace.¹ He procured the murder of his brother Britannicus, A. D. 56; and finally, A. D. 60, procured two villains base enough to assassinate his mother, Agrippina, who had committed almost every known crime to secure for him the crown, and who bore the relation to the Emperors of Rome of granddaughter, sister, wife, and mother.² Remorse (if possible) never deserted Nero, who from this time, as if to drown an awakened conscience, indulged in the follies of the play-house, and, in A. D. 62, added to his crimes the murder of his wife Octavia, sister of Britannicus and daughter of Claudius.

At Corinth Apollonius found a deputation of Elians in waiting, who had come to meet him and invite him

¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, 13, c. xxv.; Suetonius, *Nero*, xxvi.; *Dion Cassius*, lxii. 16; Juvenal's *Satires*; cf. Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman History*, b. 7, etc. (*Breviarium Rerum Romanorum*).

² The infamous Agrippina II. was daughter to Germanicus, granddaughter to Augustus, sister to Caligula, wife of Claudius, and mother of Nero. With all her crimes she deserved better in her old age from this monster son.

Drusilla, her sister, the second daughter, who committed incest with her brother Caligula, gained after her decease a place in heaven among the celestial gods. The unerring testimony of some Greek medals which have reached our day bear the style and title of the goddess Drusilla.—*Lives of Marcus Valerius, Messala Corvinus, and Titus Pomponius*, etc. (Rev. Ed. Berwick, 1813, London), p. 172.

to visit Olympia in Elis during the Olympian games, then about to commence.¹ He therefore remained no longer in Corinth than necessary to pay his respects to the philosopher Demetrius and visit the celebrated naked statue of Hercules by Dædalus, erected on the Acro Corinthus,² which he describes as resembling the Acropolis at Athens.³ Apollonius says: "For these marvelous productions of Greek art we are indebted to the living models of manliness, grace, and beauty which were daily before the artist's eye in the gymnasium or the sacred games. These arenæ of the athletes offered rare opportunities for the study of muscle, posture, form, and motion, and hence the massive limbs and startling sinews of the statue of Hercules." Apollonius now proceeded immediately with the deputation

¹ *Pausanias*, vol. ii. p. 24.

The device of the Corinthian coin, like that of Eleusis, was the Pegasus (the type of Eleusis was more frequently the sow), with the head of Minerva on the reverse. She is here said to have been the protectress of Bellerophon, who by her assistance was enabled to possess himself of a winged horse, and hence Pegasus. She had a temple as such at Corinth. Eckhel, who ought to be authority on the subject, says that "Corinth coined no proper money." All of the coins here spoken of have Latin legends except those struck to Antinous, which have Greek inscriptions. We dismiss these as possessing no great curiosity and of but little value to

the historian,—with this exception only, knowing as we do from all historic experience of that period that the slightest political or religious transmutation brought about the substitution of an entire new coinage,—it being the ultimate messenger of a successful revolution, and many times bore the first intelligence to the distant subject of a change in government. If we are not in error concerning these facts, and Corinth was no exception to the rule, then Christian writers have erred many centuries concerning the period when Corinth became Christian.—*The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (Müller), vol. i. p. 96, etc.

² *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 147.

³ *Travels of Antenor*, p. 102, etc.

to Olympia. In passing through many places in Sicyonia and Arcadia sacred to the worship of Proserpina Soteira, the virgin of salvation, the people turned out to show their respect for him. As they came near to Olympia, the roads were thronged with people, pilgrims, priests, curious travelers, athletes, strolling minstrels, and thousands of petty performers and venders of small wares, all destined for the great festival. The prodigious concourse of people which the celebration of these games drew to Olympia enriched the city and all Elis.¹ Nothing in Greece was comparable to this entertainment. On his arrival at Olympia Apollonius found ambassadors from Lacedæmon or Sparta, waiting to receive him and to request him to pay them also a visit after the close of the games. He accepted their kind invitation, but he scanned the physical appearance of the ambassadors, and observed that there was indeed but little in that relation to remind him of the reputation of the Spartans of old, of whom he had heard so much. They were effeminate, and looked as if they had breathed all their lives the pollutions of the Sybaris. He at once wrote to the ephori,² declaring against their modern methods with young men, and advising them to establish the ancient régime. He was afterward informed that the ephori would comply with every letter of his instruction should he remain of the same mind after visiting them. He then wrote them another letter more concise than the ancient Scytale.

¹ Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, word ephori exactly corresponds to
viii. 20. the word episkopus or bishop.—See

² *Plutarch*, vol. ii. p. 323. The Liddell's *Greek Lexicon*.

"Apollonius to the Ephori:

"Greeting: It is the part of men to err, but of ingenuous men to acknowledge and promise to remedy it."¹

Damis describes Olympia as consisting of two parts,—the precinct of Zeus, known also as the Altis, and the sacred grove, a walled inclosure, forming an irregular quadrangular inclosure with a length of about eight stadia, parallel with the river, and about four stadia in width. Within this inclosure were: 1. The altars for the worship of Zeus, combined with the cult of the hero Pelops; 2. The temple of Zeus; 3. The temple of Hera; 4. The temple of the mother of the gods (Metroon); then the votive edifices erected by the individual states.² Twelve treasure-houses to contain the treasures of the individual states (without the inclosure) Damis names Sicyon, Syracuse, Epidaurus, Byzantium, Sybaris, Cyrene, Selinus, Megara, and Gela. The exedra of Herodes Atticus stood on the north of the Altis, within the inclosure. Outside the walls, on the north-west, were the gymnasium, Palæstra (for wrestlers), and Council Hall. Nero's house and the hippodrome for the races—chariot, horse, and foot—were on the south-east. These, as Damis informs us, embraced a few only of the structures of the place, while every available space, not otherwise occupied, was filled with statues and votive offerings. There were six bronze statues of Jupiter, which had been

¹ Apollonius advised them to prohibit the use of pitch in the baths and all other debilitating preparations, and let the ancient mode of living be reëstablished. "Then," said he, "the Lacedæmonian would begin to look like himself again."

² These were all Doric.

erected from the fines imposed upon wrestlers who had used fraud to procure the prize. There were monuments of every epoch and from every region where Greeks were found and the Greek language spoken. Apollonius's time was exclusively taken up with the religious ceremonies within the inclosure.¹ Damis and his companions in the mean time, however, had become enamored with the sports outside, which consisted of horse-racing, foot-racing, leaping, javelin-throwing, quoit-throwing, wrestling, and boxing. "The wrestlers," he says, "were naked, anointed, and covered with sand, that they might take hold." Striking was not allowed. The boxing, however, was a severer part of the sport, and was indulged in only by those of the profession; it was not held in the highest repute; it was practiced naked, with clinched fists; the victory was awarded to him who could best ward off the blows of an antagonist. The exercise was violent and dangerous, and two of the combatants lost their lives. There was another method, called the "Klimax," where the combatants faced each other, but never warded the blows at all; as soon as one was knocked down, the other fell upon him with continued blows, until oftener than otherwise he arose from the dead body of his adversary. The games continued for five days.²

Once at Olympia, as Apollonius was absorbed in the contemplation of the most famous statue of Olympus (Jove, Zeus), he unconsciously ejaculated, "Hail, propitious Jove; your goodness and clemency reach and are imparted to all mankind." Gaining his presence

¹ *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. iv. p. 424.

² *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (Müller), vol. i. p. 315.

of mind, he immediately turned about and found himself facing the brazen statue of Milo,¹ a pupil of Pythagoras, who is said to have been a wrestler of such invincible strength that he once carried a bull on his shoulders to the sacrifice and killed it with a single blow of his fist.²

As he stood contrasting the two characters, Olympian Jove and Milo, a young arrogant philosopher addressed him, praying the favor of an audience the next day, saying that he had something to recite. Apollonius asked him what it was. He replied, an oration composed in praise of Jupiter. Apollonius inquired of him, "what he saw in Jupiter Olympus to commend which had not already been told?"³ After, however, accepting the appointment, and patiently hearing the young man through, he said: "I think Jupiter will care but little for your praise, and I would advise you as a panegyrist to turn your attention to things more within the reach of your talent and experience, as the ills of humanity rather than the adulation of the gods; dropsy, catarrh, and gout are prolific subjects, and you might gain a reputation by attending the

¹ Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, ii. p. 209. "The statue of this prince of wrestlers," Apollonius informs us, "blasphemously represented a priest of Juno standing on a small buckler with a pomegranate in his hand." "The symbolic pomegranate," says Pausanias, "belongs to an arcane discourse (mysterium arcanum), which is thus explained by Olearius: Nempe in Φύσσει Τεβέλει ἐγγεμένον. Juno est principium

rerum naturalium passivum ut activum Jupiter a quo imprægnata Juno Semina rerum divino utero concipit. Quorum cum innumera sit multitudo, atque varietas ista Junonis tot seminibus fætæ fæcunditas malo Punico Symbolice fuit designata in quo maxima, inter omnia roma seminum copia.

² Thomas's *Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*.

³ *Many Cults*; see *Cumæan Sibyl*.

dead to their graves, and relating the many qualities of the disease of which each died. And it might also soothe the grief of the bereaved relatives to know that the death was caused by a distemper which prevailed in families of the nobility." Apollonius dismissed him, advising him never to attempt the praises of one whose good qualities are so little known as those of the gods. The discourses of Apollonius at Olympia turned chiefly upon topics more in the relation of man to man and to himself than to the gods; such as fortitude, wisdom, temperance, charity, and, in short, all the virtues. On these subjects he always discoursed, like the stoics, in the porch of the temple of Jupiter at Olympia,¹ the most famous of all the temples of ancient Greece,² and his eloquence endeared all hearers to him.

One day, as Apollonius was expressing himself wonderfully pleased with the good behavior, order, religious zeal, and honesty of the Eleans at their festival,³ Damis,

¹ The statue of the Olympian Jove (Jupiter Olympus - Zeus), before which all Greece bowed with profound veneration and respect, was the most celebrated in the world; it was forty-two feet high and the most majestic representation of an impersonated deified humanity ever conceived by man. Juno of Argos, Hera, the legitimate wife of Jupiter, and who shared his attributes, also adorned this temple. She was an ideal matron. The former is the master-piece of Phidias, and the latter of his worthy rival, Polycletus of Sicyon. After them came Praxiteles and Scopas. The

most faithful representation of this statue of Jupiter is preserved to us on coins and medals of the reign of Hadrian. This statue was burned, A. D. 408. On the Elis coins of Hadrian, it is said to be excellently represented.—*Hist. Greek Sculpture* (Murray), p. 268; Heyne, *Antiq. Aufs.* i. 2037. Plutarch, Philochorus, and Diodorus Siculus all agree that Phidias embezzled some of the gold and fled to the Eleans.

² *History of Ancient Art* (Franz von Reber), p. 222.

³ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (Rev. Edward Berwick), p. 222.

who had not formed so favorable an opinion of them, thought it nothing remarkable for them to acquit themselves nobly one day in five years. After the Olympian games he visited and remained some time in Sparta; here the Lacedæmonians came in crowds to hear him, and pronounced him, in the presence of Jupiter, their guest, the father and director of the young, and the ornament of the old.¹ He inquired well into the habits of the Spartans, to the end that he might decide upon the best method for the production of perfect men; he discovered that their habits were simple, mode of life plain; there was but little construction about their houses,—most of their time was spent in the open air,—their dress of the most unostentatious material and cut—it being woollen, without sleeves, and fastened by clasps; intoxicating drinks were prohibited; adultery was unknown; one custom only among them Apollonius held to be highly reprehensible: that of permitting their maidens to attend the games and festivals, and excluding the married women. He commended them upon the discontinuance of the old custom of “showing their young women naked.”²

As a race, they appeared in a monstrous contrast with the deputation which waited upon Apollonius at Olympia. The Lacedæmonians he describes as a race of soldiers; they cultivate neither arts, commerce, nor agriculture. All pursuits with the Spartan nobility, except that of soldier, were looked upon as dishonorable; this, Apollonius declares their most pronounced characteristic, and he relates the case of a young Lacedæ-

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie*, etc. (Chassang), p. 384.

² *History of the Doric Race*, vol. ii. p. 272.

dæmonian,¹ of noble extraction, who was living under accusation of transgressing the customs and laws of his country, inasmuch as he was so devoted to nautical pursuits and commercial speculations as to engage in traffic between Carthage and Sicily in vessels of his own construction; and so infatuated was he with this pursuit, that he neglected those duties to the republic and to that nation who had made his ancestors famous, some of whom were of the gymnasiarchs and ephori, and all guardians of the laws; he boasted in being a descendant of Callicratidas (Καλλικρατίδας), the Spartan general who succeeded Lysander during the Peloponnesian war, and who blockaded the port of Mitylene.² The charges against him, and for which he was incarcerated, were in depriving his country of services justly her due, and in prostituting a name so glorious in her annals to the gratification of personal avarice; the penalty for this offense was a sacrifice of name and nationality. Apollonius was determined to dissuade this young Spartan from so dishonorable a pursuit. He demonstrated to him that although his occupation involved large profits and promised great wealth, it was a dishonor to the great names of Sparta, and that, moreover, one or two bad investments might render him unable to pay his debts and he be compelled to spend his life in a debtor's prison, a poor compensation, indeed, for a name glorious in the records of his country which he had inherited and which it was his duty to perpetuate. Apollonius further proved to him that Sparta, under military glory,³ rose to the skies, but

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane*, par A. Chassang, p. 170.

² *Berwick*, p. 226.

³ Sparta was 800 years without walls.

as a commercial people they had become the prey of all the earth, and had been blotted from both land and sea. To all this the young Callicratidas listened with marked attention, and shortly after resolved to reform his life and pursue the road to fame rather than affluence; whereupon he was released from confinement and furnished with a commission becoming the dignity of his family name.¹

In casting our eyes momentarily at this time toward Jerusalem, we find that riots, disorders, robberies, and murders are fast working out the destiny of the Jewish people. Festus has just been appointed procurator, whose efforts to pacify the factions are so abortive, that an outbreak seems inevitable.² A temporary stay is, however, brought about by the sudden death of Festus. In the mean time, A. D. 62-3, great and stirring events were transpiring at Rome. Nero has married Poppæa and put Octavia to death; Tigellinus, a court favorite, has been appointed prætorian prefect.³

The infamous Pallas, who was a party to the murder of Claudius, an accomplice of Agrippina, had been con-

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges*, etc., par A. Chassang, p. 170.

² *The History of the Israelites and Judeans*, etc., vol. ii. p. 319, *et seq.*

³ Tigellinus Sophonius was born at Agrigentum in Sicily. He was a horse-breaker by profession, and he catered to the worst passions of Nero.—Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman Hist.*, b. 7, c. xiv; Tacitus' *Annals*, xiv. 51.

He was proprietor of a magnificent

estate called the Æmilian gardens, on the slope of the Pincian, between the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza di Spagna; above it was the burial-place of the Domitii, where Nero's remains now repose. Tigellinus committed suicide, A. D. 70, to escape a worse death. He was dissolute, revengeful, and unprincipled; he was the evil genius of the emperor, whose last noble impulse he sought to stifle.—See Tacitus' *History*, i. 72; also *Dion Cassius*, lxii. 13, lxiii. 12.

demned, and his wealth, consisting of twelve millions of dollars, confiscated, A. D. 62. During this year Boadicea, Queen of Britain, humbled the Roman pride by defeating Anneus and slaughtering seventy thousand Romans. Upon this information court manners slightly improved at the capital. It was manifest that Rome was no longer omnipotent, and Apollonius determined during the lull and after the winter was over on visiting Rome, although he was well informed that Nero had no partiality for philosophers, and that, under the espionage of Tigellinus, he would be surrounded with spies immediately on entering the city. But, notwithstanding all the dangers, he determined to take no longer upon rumor, but to see for himself the splendor of this "Queen of Cities," crowning her seven hills in marble majesty, the mistress of the world, conquered by the valor of her sons, and now trailing in the dust through the imbecility of the imperial homicide.¹ While he was thus contemplating his journey to Rome, he had a dream,² which caused him to change his course, and he thought proper to go into Crete, the birthplace of Zeus. Consequently, from Sparta he proceeded to Epidaurus,³ on the Gulf of Argolis, and took up his abode in the temple of Æsculapius, about forty stadia from the city. This city was a colony from Epidaurus, on the Saronic Gulf, called the holy, ἡ ἁγία Ἐπιδαυρος, a kingdom founded by Pelops. The great public edifices of the city were a theater of Polycletus, a temple to Dionysius and Artemis, and a shrine to

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges*, par Chassang, p. 176.

² *Berwick*, 228.

³ *Mythology and Fables* (Banier), iii. p. 155.

Aphrodite. The most illustrious deeds of Æsculapius were performed at Epidaurus. He cured all manner of diseases, and even raised the dead; and Apollonius says a long list of the names of those who had been miraculously cured by this god was engraven within the temple. Divine honors were paid Æsculapius, and the eighth day of the Eleusinian mysteries was called Epidauria in honor of him. The temple had, two hundred years before this time, been desecrated by the Romans, and the statue of the healing god removed to Rome and set up on the *Insula Tiberina*. On leaving Epidaurus, he pressed forward to *Malca*, spending one night at *Bœa*. There being many vessels stationed at *Malca*, he sailed immediately, all his disciples accompanying him. A south-easterly gale coming on soon after leaving port, they were driven behind the island *Cythera*, and sought shelter in the little harbor of the town of *Acmea*. The wind, however, suddenly changing in the opposite direction, they ran down upon the island of *Crete*. The snowy summits of the *Cretan Ida* being in sight during the whole voyage, and sailing along the coast of *Cydonia* for two days with head winds, they finally put in at *Gnossus*, the birthplace of *Chersiphon*, the architect of the temple of *Diana of Ephesus*. Here Apollonius sought out the residence of his friend *Ænesidemus*, the stoic, who embraced him and hospitably entertained him while at *Gnossus*. The disciples in the mean time visited the famous labyrinth,¹ said to have been the dwelling-place of the fabled *Minotaur*, who devoured seven Athenian youths and seven Athenian

¹ A winding cavern, artificial, and common in countries occupied by the Ethiopian race, used as temples where human victims were sacrificed.

maidens furnished every seven years by Athens.¹ This monster was the product of a commerce of Pasiphae, wife of Minos, king of Crete, with a bull; and King Minos, to conceal his disgrace, had the labyrinth built as a dwelling-place of Minotaur,² who was finally slain by Theseus. The disciples ascended Mount Ida and examined all the sacred monuments of the island; this was the birthplace of Jupiter,³ and here he was nursed, whence came the worship of Cybele and the priests called curetes (Idæi Dactyli).⁴ It was on this sacred mount that Minos received the Cretan laws engraved on tables of stone, delivered to him by Zeus long ere the laws from Elohim Jehovah were delivered to Moses.⁵ Apollonius visited the temple of Libene, dedicated to Æsculapius, and the most famous in Crete.⁶ It looked toward the Lybian Sea, standing near Phæstus, a town where a great sea is restrained by a very little rock. This temple is called Libenean, from a promontory of the same name resembling a lion. The story about it is, that the promontory was one of the lions yoked of old to the chariot of Rhea⁷ (Ῥεῖα, Ῥέα, called by the Romans Aps Cybele, mother of Uranus). It was during the sojourn of Apollonius on the island

¹ This famous labyrinth is represented on the reverse of a medal of Gnossus.—*Coins of the United States Mint*, Du Bois. There were coins of Crete marked with a square or labyrinth to denote the celestial Venus.—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. Crete.

² *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art* (R. Payne Knight), p. 64, etc.

³ Jupiter was worshiped in Crete

as Dies. Peter (R. P. Knight), p. 70.

⁴ *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (C. O. Müller), vol. ii. p. 406, *et seq.*

⁵ Μῶις was the Muse of Wisdom with the Cretans.

⁶ *History of Classical Greek Literature* (Mahaffy), p. 50.

⁷ Mother of Osiris, Isis, and Typhon; wife of Pan.

of Crete that the cities of the Campania, Herculaneum and Pompeii, were partially destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius, A. D. 64.¹ The shock took place about midday, while Apollonius was talking to a great concourse of people on the subject of religion and the gods; the violent concussion shook the whole island, followed by a rumbling noise from the ground; the sea withdrew about seven stadia from the shore, and many supposed that its recession would sweep the temple and all belonging to it away. Apollonius, however, calmed their fears, and no harm came out of it.² After he had visited all of their temples and completed his mission in Crete, he turned his face longingly toward Rome, and, finding a number of vessels at Gnosus ready to sail, he took leave of his friend Ænesidemus, who had affectionately warned him of the hazard of a philosopher visiting Rome at the present time, and set sail immediately for Puteoli, the port of Cumæ, in Campania. Puteoli was originally a colony from Samos, and was first called Discearliæ, place of commercial tumult. It was the great emporium of Italy; its mole or breakwater was a wonderful structure built upon a stone foundation thirty feet below tide-water, and protected a harbor large enough to hold an imperial navy. "The great merchant-ships come sluggishly into port deeply laden, but go nimbly away empty, Alexandria being their home."³ This was in the same year, but prior

¹ Pliny and Apollonius are the only persons who have referred to this great eruption. I think I am not mistaken.

Naples. He had just left the building when it fell.—Dyer's *Ruins of Pompeii*, p. 4.

² At the time of this earthquake Nero was singing in a theater at

³ *A New System; or, an Analysis of Antient Mythology*, etc., by Jacob Bryant, Esq., in 6 vols., vol. v. p. 347.

to the great fire in Rome under Nero. "Without mentioning," says Philostratus, "the many great and good men who incurred royal displeasure, chiefly in consequence of their unbending adherence to virtue and truth, we cannot pass unnoticed Musonius,¹ a Babylonian or a Chaldean, and of whom Tacitus speaks as a man devoted to the study of philosophy, and in particular to the doctrines of the stoic sect,² who was considered second in wisdom and austere morality to Apollonius, and who was cast into prison, where he would have died had he not possessed a robust constitution and body. It was whilst philosophy and its professors were in such perilous circumstances that Apollonius came to Rome, during the year that Nero made his début upon the stage at Rome and Naples (Neapolis).

On arriving at Puteoli, Apollonius repaired at once to the temple of Neptune, and sacrificed to that god for his safety from perils of the sea; he then visited the temple of Diana,³ with its statue of that goddess thirteen cubits high, the fame of which had reached him years before. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Serapis, famous throughout the world. Puteoli was an unrivaled sea-port and watering-place of Roman imperialism, and the place where every known vice was practiced to perfection; in front of the city

¹ Musonius Rufus, a stoic philosopher, born in Etruria, banished by Nero, returned under Vespasian, and was excepted from the sentence of exile pronounced against all stoics. He was highly esteemed by Pliny, Tacitus, and was the per-

sonal friend of Apollonius. He knew not the Christians.—Cf. *Wyttenbachii de Musonio Rufus, phil. Stoic* (Amstel, 1783), 4to.

² *Quintilian*, b. x. 124. Stoics.

³ *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art*, etc. (Knight), p. 99.

lay the beautiful Bay of Baiæ, more remotely called Neapolis, still bearing the defacement of Caligula's great folly, the Bridge of Baiæ, now, however, in ruins,¹ a short distance beyond the freshly burned cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, still smoking in their ruins; the island of Capræa, scarcely visible to the south, still retaining the memories of the beastly Tiberius.² Horace, Virgil, and Cicero have frequented and glorified this place, lavishly ornamented with temples and pillars and statues and imperial villas. Hadrian, Agrippa, Cæsar, Augustus, and Tiberius had their villas here; it was now the darling retreat of Nero, and it was here that he held some of his most voluptuous orgies, and planned some of his choicest crimes—as the murder of his mother. “The various failures he had before made in this delicate business,” as Apollonius said at the time, only confirm the truth of the old adage: “If you want a thing done, do it yourself.”

¹ This great and useless work extended across the bay from Baiæ to Puteoli, a distance of over three miles and a half. It was constructed of a continuous line of great vessels, placed side by side and anchored, and a broad road formed over them. On the sides of the road were erected inns, supplied with water by conduits; trees and shrubs were planted. It was lighted by an ingenious method. The opening of this grand and useless work was conducted in a style of magnificence before unequalled. The infantry and cavalry were marched over it, with Caligula at their head. Speeches and feasting followed through the

three following days.—*The Pictorial History of Rome*, by Arnold, Onley, and others, p. 467.

² *Suetonius*, c. xlii. p. 218.

The noble and interesting temple, Jupiter Serapis, for the possession of which earth and sea have been contending through many centuries, was located at Pozzuoli. Occasionally it has been submerged; then an earthquake would throw it up, or the sea retire and leave it on dry ground. These oscillations have been going on here since the historic period. It is now high and dry; near it stands the temple of Neptune, half under water, and the temple of the Nymphs is entirely submerged.

Apollonius now proceeded toward Rome by the Ap-pian Way,¹ which had just undergone a thorough repair by Nero, and it was now one of the grandest cemeteries of the world—the exclusive privilege and possession of the rich. When he had arrived within one hundred and twenty stadia (fourteen miles) from Rome, near the grove of Aricia, he was met by Philolaus, a Roman, now of Cytæum, a town on the island of Crete. He was a man of great eloquence, but not constituted to endure much hardship in times of persecution, although he had once smarted under the rod of a merciless centurion. Apollonius saluted him, and Philolaus exhorted him to give way to the storm and forego his determination of visiting Rome, where philosophy at the present time was so much restricted, assuring him that if he continued his journey he would certainly be arrested at the city gates, and would probably lose his life for his imprudence, which surely would be no great gain. It will cost you more than it did Ulysses when he fell into the hands of the Cyclops. Remember the words of Alcibiades when about to be tried by his countrymen on a capital charge: “It is foolish to spend so much money and time in trying to get off when it is so easy to get away”—and he acted accordingly; but Apollonius was inflexible. Among his followers, consisting of thirty disciples, on hearing this intelligence all except eight deserted him.² “Very well,” said Apollonius, “every man to his humor,” and for which he thanked the gods, but uttered no word of censure upon those who turned back. Among

¹ *Life of the Greeks and Romans* (Guhl and Koner), p. 341.

² *Brucker*, vol. ii. p. 120.

those who persevered were Menippus, Dioscorides the Egyptian, Damis, and five others, whom Apollonius addressed as follows: "I do not blame those who have left me, but I praise those who have remained; those who have fled through fear of Nero I do not call cowards, but those who have conquered their fears are philosophers. We go to the city which commands the habitable earth, but tyranny is enthroned within it. Let no one deem it foolish in us in our attempt to visit this city, which, as members of this great despotism, whether by our own selection or by force, is not only our privilege but our right, and from which so many philosophers have fled; there is no terror to men who have made temperance, wisdom, and truth the maxims and rules of their lives. We will go to Rome, and Nero's edict banishing philosophers we will oppose by the iambic of Sophocles. Such orders were never given by the fathers of the gods, and, I will add, nor by Apollo, the god of wisdom."

Six stadia from Aricia they passed through the ancient city of Albano, founded by Æneas; and on their right, near the city of Rome, on the ground that formerly belonged to Pompey, Apollonius halted to examine a large tomb erected to Ascanius and Pompey. They approached the city late in the day, and entered by the gate of Appia¹ without being questioned, although the guards made some uncomplimentary remarks about their dress; they took up their abode

¹ This gate was substituted for the porta Caperia when the city was enlarged; it derived its appellation from the Appian Way, which was paved with large blocks of stone by the censor Appius Claudius, in the year 442 of Rome, and was the most magnificent road of all those opened by the Romans.—*Old Rome*, etc. (Burn), p. 194.

at an inn near the ancient city's walls, and adjacent to Cicero's house,¹ one of the finest in Rome. It was filled with books, paintings, and statues of the greatest artists. Damis says Rome was owned by wealthy and selfish capitalists who thought of nothing but themselves. The streets on the elevations were filled with houses nearly equal to Cicero's. Cræsus was said to have owned half of the city. Greek was spoken in Rome; it was an accomplishment of which they were proud; every noble Roman had a Greek preceptor in his house,² and Rome was a Greek city to the extent of its culture and art. All the statues of heroes and gods which decorated the squares, porticoes, and private mansions of the nobility were Greek, and captives in Italy. Rome had stolen a million statues from Greece. They envied the Greek his culture; the Greek despised Roman vulgarity. Day after day Apollonius and his friends spent their time in visiting the different parts of the city, which was now divided into fourteen regions, and the regions were subdivided into vici; and in regard to its architecture, Apollonius declares that, "There is not a structure nor a statue in all Rome but that had a Greek origin."³ He, however, compliments their methods of furnishing provisions to the people; butchers, bakers,⁴ and millers were selected citizens, incorporated, and were held amenable to the severest laws in their business; slaughter-

¹ Cicero's house was on the upper slope of what is now known as the Mons Esquilinus; the inn was in the valley below it.

² *Life of the Greeks and Romans* (Guhl and Koner), p. 89.

³ *History of Greek Sculpture*, etc. (Murray), p. 131, etc.

⁴ The Romans learned to make leavened bread from the Greeks.—*Pliny*. See *Archæologia Græca*, etc. (Potter), vol. ii. pp. 352, 361.

houses were built of marble, and Nero had just completed a meat market equal in size to the amphitheater. Apollonius was a frequent visitor at the Septa,¹ on the Capitoline, and the Colonnades of Hadrian. Two celebrated Greek groups adorned the Septa, Pan and Young Olympus, and Chiron and Achilles.²

They endeavored to make themselves as little observed as possible, preferring rather to obtain correct information concerning the ancient institutions of Rome, which they had heretofore known only by tradition, and to take into account the present corruptions and criminalities of Nero and his counselors, than openly declaring against the abominations of a tyrant, who possessed all but omnipotent power.³ In furtherance of this object, Apollonius had delayed his visits to the temples and sacred places of the city, and had attended the Circus Maximus, and spent much time at the Forum. The Circus Maximus was at the terminus of the Appian Way, and below the Palatine on the left, and near to his lodgings; to it the Roman people paid a mad devotion,—here they sacrificed their lives, here they spent all their earnings in drink and gambling, here they verily dwelt and here they worshiped. Clustered about the entrance of the Circus were some of the

¹ *Life of the Greeks and Romans* (Guhl and Koner), p. 414.

² The Septa was once simply an inclosed place on the Campus Martius, divided off into a number of partitions, where the presidents passed and received the votes of the centuries. It had now become the great resort and mart of the slave

vender, and of idlers and loungers; it was also a market for many kinds of goods, and in the evenings the lewd women promenaded here. It stood just east of the temple of Isis, Serapis, and Minerva Chalcidica, in the ninth region.—*Old Rome*, etc. (Robert Burn), p. 127.

³ Suetonius's *Nero*, xviii.

lowest drinking and gambling dens in Rome. On the day of the races, before sunrise, they ran headlong to the Circus, and some even passed sleepless nights to be in readiness in the morning. The number of idle persons in the streets of Rome during the season of the races, Apollonius says, is enormous.¹

On the other side of the Palatine was the Roman Forum, which was exceedingly rich in Greek art; here were statues of Alcibiades, Pythagoras, and before the Rostra the three Sibyls; also a picture by Serapion, some works of art from Sparta, and many others. To reach the Forum they had to descend by the Via Sacra, the great thoroughfare of the nobility; all the other streets leading to it were narrow, and so thronged with people during the business hours as to be nearly or quite impassable. The Forum was the great commercial center of the city; here all stock and corn exchange and all legal business were transacted, and it was also the place to gather the news of the day. The fashionable pedestrians, promenaders, and loungers sought the Via Sacra, or the retired porticoes of the Circus Flaminius. After dark the Via Sacra was entirely monopolized by the lewd women of the city and their satellites. In the most circumspect manner Apollonius and his followers passed their time for several months, visiting every quarter of the city and noting everything worthy of observation, without apparently attracting any undue attention, when one evening their quarter of the city

¹ Pliny says the Circus Maximus was capable of containing two hundred and sixty thousand persons, which Sextus Rufus confirms; Publius Victor estimates its capacity at three hundred and eighty-five thousand.—*The Life of the Greeks and Romans*, etc., p. 423.

was visited by a man pretending to be intoxicated ; he sang verses of Nero, for which he received a salary ; he was a spy, the Até of the savage Nemesis,¹ and had power to arraign all persons who listened with inattention or who did not pay ; finding that little or no attention was paid him by Apollonius and his companions, he cried out that they had violated the majesty of Nero, and were the enemies of his divine voice ; at which the philosophers did not seem much concerned. Whereupon Menippus asked Apollonius his opinion of what the performer said. "The same," replied Apollonius, "as of what he sang." "But it is not our business," said Menippus, "to show him any signs of disapprobation ; let us pay him for his music, and leave him to sacrifice to the Muses of Nero."² To this Apollonius assented. The next day, however, Apollonius was sent for by Telesinus, one of the consuls, and in the private interview Telesinus was amazed at his religious zeal and his boldness in answer to questions put to him ; and being desirous of showing him respect offered to write to the priests to permit him to enter the temples. "Would they not receive me," said Apollonius, "without your written command ?" "No," said he, "for the permission depends on my authority as pontifex maximus"³ (high-priest or pope). "I am

¹ The savage goddess Nemesis commissioned her ominous genius Até to fly incessantly over the whole earth, and gather the thoughtless and important words uttered by her subjects, which she might present as an apology for torturing them.

² *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 179.

³ The pontifex maximus was esteemed the judge and arbitrator of all divine and human affairs, and his authority was so great and his office so much revered "that all the emperors, after the example of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, either actually took upon themselves the office or used the name."—Kennet's *Roman Antiquities*.

glad," said Apollonius, "that a man so illustrious is appointed to fill that office, but I would prefer dwelling in temples which are not so vigilantly guarded; none of the gods reject me, and all give me the protection of their roof; this is all the permission I crave, and without which I care not to enter the sacred precincts; and this is not denied me even by the barbarians." "If this is so," said Telesinus, "the barbarians have been beforehand with us in such praiseworthy attention; but I would much prefer having these good things said of ourselves."

After this Apollonius took up his abode in the temples, and he dwelt in none without making some reformation. He visited no man, paid no court to royalty, but received all who came unto him with civility. In this manner he passed from temple to temple. These freedoms extended to him gave rise to many questionings and much bitterness, until A. D. 65, when Demetrius, a Greek cynic philosopher of celebrity, came to Rome; he was an officer under the government of Nero; he loved Apollonius, having met him at Corinth, and was secretly his disciple.¹ He showed to him so much attention that Nero was provoked by it, and began to suspect that the arts which Apollonius professed had great power over Demetrius. When Nero had finished his gymnasium, which was the admiration of all Rome, and celebrated the anniversary of it, in the midst of the senate and the knights assembled, and performed all the necessary sacrifices on the occasion, Demetrius entered it, and pronounced an oration

¹ Demetrius was eulogized by to an island, was restored, but Seneca, who quoted his maxims. finally died in exile at an advanced age. He was banished by Vespasian.

against all who bathed in it,¹ saying they were effeminate and polluters, not cleansers of themselves; to which he added that the expense attending such works was idle and superfluous. These words would have cost him his life had not Nero the night before outdone himself in singing, and been greatly applauded, which rendered his otherwise ferocious nature extremely amiable. The singing took place in a tavern near the gymnasium and Circus Maximus, before an audience of the most abandoned characters, men and women. Nero had only a girdle tied around his waist during the performance; in every other respect he was naked.

From this moment to the time Apollonius left Rome his movements were watched, either for evidence to convict of treasonable utterances, or to prevent him from eluding them by the commission of suicide,² and thereby

¹ There was a hot bath joined to the gymnasium, after the fashion of the Greeks, and this appears from Suetonius, who says: "Upon the first opening of a hot bath and a school exercise gymnasium which Nero built, he furnished the senate and the equestrian order with oil in which to bathe."

² This tendency to suicide began with the cynics, one of whose most noted disciples, Diogenes, caused his death by suffocation (Diogenes Laert., *Life of Diogenes*, xi.), and Stilpo, his favorite disciple, also destroyed himself, as did also his colleagues Onesicratus, Metrocles, and Menippus. Demonax, a cynic, also ended his life because he had outlived authority. Peregrinus, of the same school, burnt himself alive.

The stoic heirs of the cynic school were the first to erect suicide into a dogma, and create an enthusiasm for it. Many stoics committed suicide under circumstances which show how little regard they had for life. Their founder, Zeno, took his own life. His successor, Cleanthes, showed an equal contempt for life. Diodorus cut his throat, Cassius fell by his own dagger, Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's friend, starved himself to death. Nearly all of these crimes were committed to escape some real or imaginary evil, mostly the dread of imperial vengeance; many that their estates might be saved to their heirs, a provision of Roman law. —Cf. *Suicide, Studies on its Philosophy, Causes, and Prevention*, by James J. O'Dea, M. D. (New York, 1882), p. 50, etc.

saving his estate, which was believed to be considerable, to his legal representatives; for conviction of treason was followed by confiscation. But he took care to indulge in no license of speech, and yet not to show too much concern for those who were watching him, for he knew that those who professed philosophy stood on most slippery ground.¹ These things took place about the period when Juvenal,² the friend of Martial, Quintilian, and Pliny the younger, was thundering with his eloquence and wit against the follies and corruptions of his day. Perseus the stoic, the Faust of Zeno, the pupil of Cornutus, the associate of Lucan and Seneca, had just died, aged twenty-nine (A. D. 65). Italicus, the lawyer and pro-consul, had crowned his career of ease and luxury with a philosophical suicide. While stoicism was philosophy in the abstract, yet there were many radical divergences. Philosophy was the refuge and consolation of the oppressed, and taught resignation and tacit submission. Stoicism inspired men with indignation at their wrongs, and with burning zeal to redress them. It made men turbulent, and meddlers in state affairs. Nothing on earth could reconcile Seneca, Lucan, or Apollonius with the imperialism of Nero; and if the rhetorical diatribes of the elder Seneca were justifiable manifestoes of stoic invectives in the Flavian era, then the Junius Letter to the Duke of Grafton is a gentle utterance, "*suaviter in modo*," of party wrath.

Lucan was born at Cordova, Spain, A. D. 38, educated at Athens, "the Grecian Hub," which is about

¹ Edward Berwick's *Translation* 2 vols. (Paris, 1862), vol. ii. p. of *Philostratus*, p. 239; *L'Histoire* 68.

Romaine (Rome), par J. J. Am- ² Volker's *Juvenal, Lebens-und*
piere, de l'Académie Française, *Characterbild* (1857).

equal to an education at the present day at Cambridge, and implies that he was a gentleman born. He was the companion of Nero, the nephew of Seneca, and the author of *Pharsalia*. At twenty-five he was a prodigy of information, and was making conquests over the conceited Nero in literary contests; this proved his ruin — five years later he was in exile,¹ and in A. D. 65 was put to death. In the same year it was decreed that Seneca also must die. Both were put to death by order of Nero, who had now clothed nearly every noble family of Rome in mourning.²

At the death of Festus (A. D. 63), Albinus was appointed procurator at Jerusalem; this gave great dissatisfaction to the turbulent Jews, and the boldness of the attacks of the assassins was becoming more and more

¹ Philostrate *Icones Heroica et Vita Sophistarum* (Aldus, 1503); Jacob Palmer, *Apologia pro Lucano* (1704); Voltaire, *Essai sur la Poésie épique*; J. G. Meusel, *Dissertationes de Lucano* (1767); Karl H. Weise, *Vita Lucani* (1835).

² Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xiv. xv. Nero, with a conscious timidity, avoided the society of the maligned philosopher. To avert the storm which he saw was inevitably approaching, Seneca offered to surrender his wealth and withdraw into the shade of private life. The emperor, suspecting and distrusting, refused his old tutor's resignation, and Seneca pleaded delicate health and the pre-occupation of study; and flying from the scenes of his former power and popularity, was henceforth sel-

dom seen in the city (A. D. 62). A fresh accusation was brought against Seneca in his retirement. He was accused of taking part in a conspiracy, at the head of which was the illustrious Piso. Seneca succeeded in effectually retorting the charge of treason on his accuser Romanus. If the conspiracy was an imaginary one, it was followed soon after by a plot against Nero of a really formidable character.

Macaulay has said of Seneca "that it was easy to declaim in praise of poverty with two million pounds sterling out at usury, and to meditate epigrammatic conceits about the evils of luxury in gardens which moved the envy of kings, to rant about liberty while fawning on the insolent and pampered freedman of a tyrant."

notorious. Albinus used every effort to put down these murderous assaults, but without result; for many of the most influential among them—even the high-priests—were implicated in the disturbances. One Jesus, son of Damneus, was removed from the office of high-priest, and another Jesus, son of Gamaliel, was appointed in his place; these two rival pontiffs fought and scrambled for the tithes until removed by force of Roman arms. Albinus was not resolute enough for the times and the tumultuous material with which he had to deal. He was removed this year (A. D. 65).¹

Again returning to Rome, Apollonius informs us a distemper prevailed there, which the physicians called catarrh, and which was attended with a cough and a great difficulty in breathing. Nero had an attack of this distemper and a swelling in his throat, and in consequence of this indisposition the temples were crowded with votaries offering prayers for his recovery. Apollonius became greatly incensed at this madness of the people, and gave expression to his contempt. These facts reached the ear of Tigellinus,² the public prosecutor who had supplanted Seneca in the favor of Nero. He sent immediately and had Apollonius arrested under charge of high treason. An informer, well instructed in his part, who had been the ruin of many worthy citizens and whose record was full of such Olympic victories,

¹ *The History of the Israelites and Judeans* (Trübner), vol. ii. p. 319.

² This man, Tigellinus, had been recommended to Nero by his debaucheries. He afterward betrayed him, and committed other acts of perfidy. He had been formerly ban-

ished by Claudius for intrigues with Agrippina. He exiled himself during the short reign of Galba, and was put to death by Otho, to the great joy of all the people.—*The Satires of Decimus* (J. J. Gifford, 1802), p. 30.

presented himself at the hearing, holding in his hand a roll whereon was written the accusations, and which he flourished like a sword before the eyes of Apollonius, boasting that he had given it a sharp edge, and that now his hour had come. Upon this, Tigellinus unfolded the roll, when lo! neither letter nor character was to be seen.¹ This made all think that Apollonius was a demon, an opinion entertained of him afterward by Domitian. When Tigellinus saw this he took him into a more secret part of the court, where the most solemn business was transacted; and, making the people withdraw, asked him who he was. Apollonius told his name, that of his father, and his country. Tigellinus then asked: "How do you discover demons and the apparition of specters?" "Just as I do homicides and impious men," replied Apollonius; and this he said in sarcastic allusion to Tigellinus, who countenanced and

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges*, par Chassang, p. 182. This was undoubtedly the work of Menippus, who was the secret friend at court of Apollonius, and who afterward avowed his doctrine, and became a disciple and followed him in his travels. The original roll had, no doubt, been removed and a blank one put in its place, and that both Apollonius and Menippus were parties to this trick.

These things took place about the period when Paul, who had appealed unto Cæsar (Nero), was in Rome, and where he was allowed to dwell in peace and employ himself for two whole years in making converts to Christianity, even in the

emperor's household (Phil. i. 13, iv. 22), and wrote letters to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, etc. And still it is recorded that the Christians were persecuted by the pagans. We have never seen the record, nor have we sufficient data; in fact, all data go to disprove that there were Christians in Cæsar's household or anywhere else in Rome at this period. But we do know, from ample testimony, that Cæsar's (Nero's) household was infested with stoicism. Would it not be strange if the entire story of Paul's Christianity had an origin in a strata no more reliable than the story of Christ's miracles?—*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 47, *et seq.*

encouraged Nero in all his cruelty and debauchery. Tigellinus continued: "Will you prophesy for me, Apollonius, if I ask it?" "How can I?" said he; "I am no soothsayer."¹ "How comes it, then," said Tigellinus, "that you do not fear Nero?" "Because," answered he, "the same deity who has made him formidable has made me bold." "And what do you think of him?" "More than you do," said Apollonius, "for I would not advise him to sing and play the lyre, as you do, while he ought to hold his tongue." "Having such sentiments, I advise you," said Tigellinus, "to keep beyond Nero's reach during his aberrations." "The very advice I had intended for you," replied Apollonius, "if he ever comes to his senses."

¹ TIGELLINUS (to Nero):

Nay, if you seek for potent talismans, know
Apollonius of Tyana
Is now in Rome—he whom some deem a god.
He with his power could set at naught their arts.

NERO:

Has he such magic powers?

TIGELLINUS:

He has, indeed;
Under your edict he was lately brought
Before the Consul and myself. In sooth,
Such was his power, we deemed it best
To set him free at once.

NERO:

Go to him, then,
As will enable me to set at naught
All these foul practices. Go, go at once.

TIGELLINUS:

I shall obey.

—*Nero: A Historical Play*, act iv. scene 2.

Damis says that Tigellinus behaved very much as one with a wolf by the ears—it was equally unsafe to let go as to hold on. After this and much other conversation, “Go where you please,” said Tigellinus, “only giving security for your appearance when required.” For all these things appeared to Tigellinus as divine, and he feared to contend with a god.

Apollonius, having thus fortunately gained his liberty by an accident or through the cowardice of Tigellinus, became more circumspect in his conduct. One day as he was passing along the street in company with some of his disciples he met a funeral procession bearing a girl upon a bier. The girl had been on the point of being married, and was followed by her friends and intended husband in great affliction, and as she was of a consular family all Rome condoled with him. Apollonius approached the procession and said to the attendants and pall-bearers, “Set down the bier, and I will dry the tears being shed for this maid.” The spectators thought he was going to pronounce a funeral oration; but all he did was to touch the maid, and, after uttering a few words over her in a low tone of voice, she arose as if awakened from a sleep, but seemed to be overcome; in a few days, however, she had entirely recovered.¹ The relatives of the girl sought out Apollonius and presented him with a hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, which he in return begged to settle upon her as a marriage portion. In all the miracles of Apollonius, real or pretended, this one excepted, he seems to ignore and even ridicule the power of performing wonders; in this he has left the full force of

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane*, par A. Chassang, p. 184.

a miraculous resurrection to rest upon his power to restore life, and rather encourages us to believe that he did perform the feat through supernatural agency.¹

About this time (A. D. 66) Cornutus, a stoic and teacher, was banished for telling Nero that nobody would ever read his poetry. Musonius Rufus,² before mentioned, a friend of Apollonius and of Pliny, Tacitus, and other eminent men, was also arrested and cast into prison, and was finally sent in chains to work in the canal which was to connect the Adriatic with the Ægean sea at Corinth. Rufus declared that he would rather work in Nero's ditch at Corinth than be compelled to hear him sing at Rome. He had formerly been a teacher; among his pupils was the lame slave, afterward known as Epictetus (meaning "acquired"), the ablest of all the expositors of stoicism. Communication was kept up between Apollonius and

¹ Eusèbe commence par faire remarquer que Philostrate lui-même semble ne pas ajouter foi à ce miracle, et essaye tout le premier de l'exprimer d'une manière naturelle; puis il ajoute: "Si un miracle aussi évident que celui-la avait été fait à la vue de Rome aurait-il été inconnu à l'empereur, aux sénateurs et à Euphrate qui demeurerait en ce temps-là dans cette capitale de l'empire et qui accusa peu après publiquement Apollonius de magie? Un fait de cette importance aurait sans doute fourni la matière au premier et au principal chef d'accusation." Voici ce que dit, en ce même endroit, Eusèbe au sujet de deux miracles rapportés plus haut dans le IV^e livre. "Il

n'est pas nécessaire d'employer beaucoup de paroles pour montrer combien il était aisé de faire deux des miracles qu'on attribue à Apollonius. L'un ne consiste qu'à avoir chassé des démons d'un lieu en un autre. On prétend qu'il en chassa un du corps d'un jeune homme fort débauché et qu'il en écarta un autre qui prenait la figure d'une femme et qui selon le savant auteur de cette histoire, était de ceux qu'on appelle *empusa*."—*Réponse à Hierocles*, c. 30, trad. du Président Cousin.

² See Neuwlund's *Dissertatio de C. Musonius Rufus* (1783); Tacitus, *Annals*, books xiv. and xv.; cf. Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman History*.

Musonius Rufus during his imprisonment,¹ and under Vespasian, through the influence of Apollonius, he was reinstated.

During the first century there is but little doubt that certain schools of philosophy, as stoicism, were dangerous elements in the commonwealth,—a philosophy which the emperors could not win by kindness or purchase by favors, nor crush with persecution. Its professors could not reconcile the authority which one man sustained by force, by sword and police, with their ideas of the just predominancy of the wise. They lived in an ideal Platonic republic, and cherished the memories of Cassius and Brutus. These political metaphysicians could not see that a mild autocrat like Augustus was the only barrier between the people and anarchy and bloodshed, and their mood was consequently one of perpetual censure of the conduct, public and private, of the Cæsars. They would not celebrate his birthday, nor go in mourning at his death; they shunned his services, and feigned indifference whether he smiled or frowned. But the greater body of them, in the later years of Rome, during the reign of Nero, knew enough to prudently, if not consistently, keep silent; or not protest against the outrages of Nero, unless safely beyond his reach.² But when Vespasian came into power, and the mildness of his reign warmed these professors of wisdom into confidence, they again began to hiss and sting, and made their school resound with the praises of Hermodus and Aristogeiton.

Nero was now setting out for Greece (A. D. 66), and just before he departed he published an edict expel-

¹ *Reign of the Stoics.*

² See *Suetonius*, c. xxxvii. p. 367.

ling the philosophers (stoics) from Rome. Of all the undertakings of Nero, the one he set himself most determinedly about, was to sweep from the face of the earth the two sects, stoics and cynics.¹

At Rome during this early period the learned composed a very small class, philosophy was confined to the *salon* and coteries, public education in its modern sense was unknown, therefore literary men were thrown into one another's company, much as they are in isolated towns at the present day. Rome had its Hôtels de Rambouillet and its Holland Houses, its public readings and its philosophical lectures; beyond these, which were extremely private, all was gross ignorance.² Apollonius, knowing that outspoken philosophers, or even those who confessed themselves as such, were being pursued by Nero, and inasmuch as lectures upon

¹ This decree, according to Olearius, was made before the month of November, A. D. 66, and has been used by Christian evidencemongers, says Robert Taylor, D.D., as a decree against the Christians; Christian being interpolated where the word philosopher occurred, and indeed, on pages 21, 22, and 23 of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern* (the Blackie and Son edition of 1839), one may discover on inspection what slight perversion of the text would be affected were the word Christian stricken out and the word philosopher inserted, rendering it much more in conformity with facts as we have them handed down to us in any reliable form. Christianity, no

matter how, nevertheless did become the great and implacable foe of paganism; a foe which disdained all compromise, and rejected all alliance. It claimed the right of invasion; outside of its pale there was no security in this life, and no salvation in the next. All were invited to its communions, and those who rejected the invitation were brought in by force. Had Marcus Aurelius resorted to the same villainies to establish stoicism that Constantine and Eusebius did in the establishment of Christianity, the name even of Christianity would not have reached our day.

² *The Life of the Greeks and Romans* (Guhl and Kouer), p. 73, etc.

science and literature were unattractive and unprofitable to the masses, resolved to travel into Spain and Africa (A. D. 66); and, when pressed upon by his disciples for his reasons in visiting these barbarians, said his greatest solicitude at present was how to get gracefully out of Rome,—concerning which, since the murder of Seneca, he felt very much as Aristotle did when he left Athens, where Socrates had just suffered death,—that he did so lest the Athenians should commit *two* philosophical blunders.¹

Nero's troops had just been defeated at Jerusalem under Cestus, and Vespasian is sent to retrieve the calamity (A. D. 66). In the autumn of the same year Apollonius reached Spain. Damis has given no particulars of the journey to Spain,² not even the route, except that they left the city of Rome by the Flaminian Way and Gate, which began at the Pantheon and led to Florence, Pisa, and Genoa. None of these places are referred to by Damis, however. "The people of

¹ It has been the reproach of the lecturers of antiquity that they talked for talking's sake, and amused their hearers with inflated periods upon unprofitable themes. The modern lecturer or stump speaker may dilate upon politics or religion or both,—two of the most important subjects which engage man's attention. Literature, science, and the arts are also open for him,—in short, he may discourse *de omnibus rebus*, except perhaps on church ceremonials, without risking a hiss. But it was not so in Apollonius's time; a lecture on "State Creed" would have found

no hearers; a thesis upon Nero's conduct in banishing philosophers would have been courting prison or death. The tastes of Greece and Rome were rhetorical; to confuse an opponent, to make the worse appear the better reason, to dazzle with words and bewilder with distinctions,—"*hæ erant artes*,"—were the object of the performers. Most lecturers had their corps of well-drilled applauders (*claqueurs*), and Nero said "nothing short of it could even star a Cæsar."

² *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 186.

this country (Spain)," says Apollonius, "are quite ignorant of the customs of enlightened nations, and are very superstitious about religion. They have erected an altar to *old age*, and are the only people known who sing hymns in honor of death.¹ Even art and poverty² have altars with them. With the inhabitants about Gades (Gadeira), however, it is quite otherwise; they are said to be descended from the Greeks, and are instructed in our customs, and have a temple to Hercules."³ Julius Cæsar conferred the civitas of Rome on all the citizens of Agadir (Cadiz), and, shortly after, Cornelius Balbus built the new city and harbor and constructed the bridge across the strait (Santi Petri), of which Apollonius speaks in terms of great praise. He says that Augustus erected Gades into a municipium, under the title of Augustus Urbs Gaditana, and its citizens ranked next to Romans.⁴ They honor the Athenians above all the Greeks, and offer sacrifices to Menestheus, king of Athens; and they have raised a statue of brass to the memory of Themistocles, who

¹ It has been called the kingdom of Pluto, land of darkness (Tartarus). Pluto was reckoned king of the dead. He resided at Cadiz. At bottom, however, I think all this can be explained in the fact that the West was always a region of death and darkness. Erebus is synonymous with darkness. It was the gloomy kingdom of Pluto, over-spread with the thickest darkness, the common mansion of the dead. Homer characterizes the Atlantic Ocean "The gloomy mansions of the Titans."

² Poverty, Penia (Πενία), a goddess whom Aristophanes describes in his play of "Phitus," was held in high veneration by the people of Spain from an idea that she was the inventress of arts, by her power of quickening the industry and calling forth the genius of men.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), 190; *Vie d'Apollonius* (D'Aussy), vol. ii. p. So.

⁴ Some remains of the ancient city and the bridge and the temple of Hercules, it is said, are still visible under the sea.

commanded the Athenian fleet. In the temple of Hercules at Gades¹ were two pillars composed of gold and silver so nicely blended as to form but one color. They were more than a cubit high, of quadrangular form, like anvils, and were inscribed with characters neither Greek, Egyptian, nor Indian, and they could not be deciphered, nor could the priests of the temple give any explanation of them. Apollonius said: "The Egyptian Hercules will no longer suffer me to remain silent. The pillars are the chains which bind together the earth and sea; the inscriptions on them were executed by Hercules in the house of the Parcæ to prevent discord arising among the elements, or an interruption of that friendship which they entertain for each other."² As to the pillars, called the pillars of Hercules, which are said to be the western bounds of the earth, I shall pass over," said Apollonius, "as entirely fabulous, and devote myself to such things as are worthy to be related."³ This Μενέσθευς, to whom the Gadeans sacrificed, was a semi-fabulous king of Athens, who obtained the throne in the absence of Theseus, who was the lawful monarch and who commanded the Athenians in the Trojan war.⁴

¹ Jowett's *Plato, Crit.*, 114.

² *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 192, etc.

³ We are not quite satisfied to dismiss the pillars of Hercules as summarily as Apollonius has done. Homer, speaking of Calypso, a daughter of Atlas, one of the Titans, who were great navigators and knew all the soundings of the deep, says: "They had also long pillars or obe-

lisks, which referred to the sea, and upon which was delineated the whole system of both heaven and earth (αμφίς), all around, both in front of the obelisk and on the other sides; and Bryant thinks they were similar to the columns of Alexandria.

⁴ *Philostratus de Vita Apollonii Tyanei Scriptor Luculentus a Philippo Beroaldo Castigatus* (1502), pp. 99, etc.

Apollonius studied the phenomenon of the ebbing and flowing of the tides of the ocean,¹ and the cause thereof, but he does not inform us whether or not he discovered their true cause,² nor is it related of him, as of Aristotle, who, on his failing to make a similar discovery, in his despair uttered this prayer, "O thing of things, have mercy upon us."³ Apollonius explored the river Boetus, and found that the nature of the river contributed much toward an explanation of the rise and fall of the sea.⁴ While at Gades he related to his disciples the tradition of the Fortunate Islands, and discoursed on subjects concerning the Titans and gods of the seas, oceans, and rivers,—maintaining that water, moisture, humidity was first of all created, and principal of all things, and of the adoration paid to it by the ancients, and which was propagated into Greece by Thales.⁵ He also discoursed upon subjects concerning

¹ This was probably at Gibraltar, which is forty-five miles from Cadiz. Olearius supposes it was at Massilia, now Marseilles, where the ebbing and flowing was observed by Apollonius.

² Réville's *Pagan Christ*, p. 31.

³ Cf. M. Costard's *History of Astronomy*, p. 256; *Diodorus Siculus*, p. 172; *Strabo*, lib. iii. p. 148.

⁴ *Seaman's Delight, containing the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, the Closet of Magnetical Miracles Unlocked*, p. 30 (1686).

⁵ See *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients, explained from History*, by Abbé Banier, 4 vols. (London), vol. ii. p. 470.

How the doctrine that all things

originated in water can be reconciled by Apollonius with his professions of Pythagorism is a little difficult for us to comprehend. The Pythagoreans, the Persians, and the Chinese considered fire the first principle of life in the world.—*La Chine* (Panthier), i. 116, ii. 354. The ancient Chinese (B. C. 550) thought that the Taïke (the first principle) is made up of both mind and matter. Lao Tseu recognized the igneous principle of life and the luminous principle of intelligence, and that they can no more be separated "than fire from the burning substance."—*Vestiges of Spirit-History of Man* (Dunlap), p. 150.

the country Lusitania (Boetica), but Damis says that here as elsewhere he preserved only the conversations which he deemed most worthy of preservation. It is not to the reproach of Apollonius that he discoursed sometimes upon unprofitable subjects. One day he and his disciples, who constituted an order of pagan monks, were sitting in the temple of Hercules, and he discoursing to them of the various kinds of immortality sought after by its various votaries, and referring to the immortality of the hero (military glory), as of Alexander and Xerxes; the immortal fame of the philosopher, as Pythagoras,¹ Thales, and Plato; and the immortal folly of Sardanapalus, who is said to have cast himself into the crater of Ætna, first announcing that he was a god; and, again, the immortality of infamy which would certainly attach to Nero. Menippus² smiled on the mention of Nero, and said, "What shall we think, my friends, of that good emperor? Are there any contests in which we can give him the merit of winning a crown? Do not you think that the Greeks must nearly die of laughter when they see him enter the lists?" To this Apollonius said, "I have heard from Telesinus that the excellent Nero fears being flogged by the Eleans, with whom he is to contend in the arena."³ When his flatterers exhibited him

¹ *History of Greek Literature*, (Mahaffy), p. 220.

² An eminent Greek rhetorician, renowned throughout Asia for his eloquence. Cicero compared him to Brutus. He was a disciple of Apollonius.

³ Probably nothing was more ridiculous than the figure of this silly and profligate emperor in con-

tending for prizes in the Roman arena. But what could be expected?—the first instructors of Nero were a dancer and a barber. It is true that at the age of twelve he was put under Seneca, and received, no doubt, lessons in literature and philosophy; but it seems his mind had received its permanent bent, and he preferred the buffoon.

to conquer at the Olympian games, and had a proclamation of it made at Rome by the voice of a common herald, he said, "But what if the Eleans chastise me? for I am informed they scourge with rods, and take more upon themselves than I do myself." These, with many other impertinences, he used to utter. "For my own part," said Apollonius, "I suppose he will conquer at Olympia, for who would be so foolhardy as to contend against him? But he will never conquer at the Olympian games when celebrated after the due and ancient manner; for when, by the law of Greece, the Olympic games should have been solemnized last year, Nero ordered them to be adjourned till he came himself, as if the sacrifices on the occasion were to be offered to him instead of Jupiter. And what are we to think of his laying aside the royal purple of Augustus and Julius, and putting on that of Amœbeus and Terpsius,¹ and piquing himself to express distinctly or represent with exactness the sentiments of Creon and Œdipus, which he never understood? How can an actor appear in the characters of Œnomaus and Cressphontes and be no more impressed with the nobility of the characters than to leave the stage, get drunk,² assault and rob unarmed citizens, and commit acts of the most unparalleled obscenity and tyranny? What are we to think of his departing so far from the dignity becoming an emperor and that of the Roman people as to thrill notes of music to impressed audiences,³ and

¹ Two celebrated musicians. As soon as Nero became emperor he sent for the harper Terpsius, and by his side he used to sit while he played after supper until late at night.—*Suetonius*.

² Cf. *Éloge de l'Ivresse* (par Salengre) à Bacchopolis et Paris, p. 90.

³ He sang the pieces, "Orestes, the Murderer of his Mother," "Œdipus Blinded," and "Hercules Mad."—*Suetonius*, p. 352.

trail the royal purple in the filth of the stage instead of enforcing the laws for the regulation of morals and the extension of the empire? And then there are tragedians among whom he wishes to have his name enrolled.¹ Who appears, think you, O Menippus! most reprehensible in the eyes of the Greeks,—Xerxes laying all things waste with fire and sword, or Nero striding across the stage and singing a licentious song? If the expense to the state of one of his songs be taken into consideration, with the expense attending official accusation and fines and sacrifices springing from this great royal folly, the cost, no doubt, would exceed that of Xerxes in destroying an empire. Every person was expected to attend and applaud or be catechised, as: ‘You, sir, have you not been to hear Nero?’ or, ‘You attended, but did not listen with attention,’ ‘You laughed, but did not applaud,’ ‘You offered no sacrifice for the improvement of the emperor’s voice.’ I say, when you consider all these things, you will not differ with me in thinking that Rome has many Iliads of Woe (Ἰλιάς Κἄκων) of which to complain.”

Apollonius charged Nero with being everything rather than a musician,² and yet a musician rather than an emperor; “and as to his cutting through the isthmus, or whether at present he is or is not engaged in it, matters not,³ for I have long foreseen the consequences

¹ *Annals of Tacitus*, b. 19, c. xv. p. 263, etc.

² Suetonius, *Nero*, xx.

³ When at Corinth Nero formed the design of cutting through the isthmus in order to shorten the route for his shipping. By joining

the Adriatic and the Ægean seas, he thought to save the passage around Cape Malea. The cut was begun at Lechæum, and by immense labor was carried about four stadia. At last Nero gave it up on the advice of some Egyptians, who gave

by the suggestions of a god," said Apollonius. "But sure," said Damis, "the idea of cutting through the isthmus far exceeds his other public enterprises.¹ You may see yourself what an undertaking it is, and the benefits to arise from its accomplishment." "I do," said Apollonius, "but the not finishing what he has begun adds nothing to his glory. It is an appeal to the world that he digs no better than he sings.² In reviewing the actions of Xerxes, I commend the man," said Apollonius, "not for joining the Hellespont by a bridge,³ but for having passed over it; while Nero, I plainly foresaw, would never sail through the isthmus or finish what he had begun, for it was not his project, but Alexander's, and Julius Cæsar had resolved upon it; Nero only had the foolish hardihood to undertake it." "But," said Damis, "Nero should be applauded for his love of art and his persistent efforts to beautify and adorn the capital with fine temples and works of art." "Yes," responded Apollonius, "he did order the bronze statue of Alexander executed by Lysippus to be gilded; and, in his insatiable thirst for works of art, he did dispatch the ruthless Acratus, one of his

it as their opinion that Ægina would be drowned by the overflow of the waters of Lechæum.

¹ Cf. *Apollonius de Tyane*, etc. (Chassang), p. 162.

² It may be well to remind the reader, however, that Demetrius attempted the same thing, which was also projected by Julius Cæsar (c. xlv.), but they all failed. It was paralleled by the great undertaking of Claudius to drain the

Fucine Lake, for the purpose of converting its bed into agricultural lands,—an enterprise which any wiser man would long have hesitated before attempting. He employed thirty thousand men eleven years. Lake Fucinus still adorns the map of the ancient Sabini.

³ Xerxes cut a channel through Mount Athos, which lies upon the Ægean Sea, for his fleet to sail through.

freedmen, and Secundus Carinas, both bad and unlearned men, to pillage Greece of everything which pleased their fancy in the name of the emperor. In all seriousness, there is no act of Nero or Tiberius which does them less dishonor than their wholesale theft of Grecian works of art and their love of Grecian genius. If Nero's past conduct furnishes any material upon which to prophesy his future, I think when the climax comes he will quit Greece in terror and dismay, and endeavor to reach an asylum elsewhere. Such an end is in euphony with such a life."¹ "Do not too much deride the merits of our worthy Nero," rejoined Menippus; "remember the lame school-master Tyrtæus,² the bard of liberty and war; how the Spartans in a dire extremity were directed by the oracle of Delphi to appeal to Athens for a commander, and how the Athenians in derision sent the young man Tyrtæus, who had no military fame or knowledge. But the strains of his martial poetry³ roused the ancient fire of Sparta to its former height, and the soldiers galloped into battle chanting his war odes, and in one campaign so inspired they succeeded in saving the Spartan nationality, and in reducing the insolent foe to a condition of helpless servitude. And what may not our Nero yet accomplish? for Hesiod, you know, so says Petronius, was excluded from contending at the Pythian games because he could not play the lyre as an accompaniment to his singing; and you, no doubt, have observed that

¹ Suetonius's *Twelve Cæsars*; Nero (Bohn ed., 1855), ch. xl. There is no act of Nero's life which testifies to Christ or Christians.

² A Greek poet and musician, born at Miletus, 685 B. C.

³ *A History of Classical Greek Literature* (Mahaffy), vol. i. p. 159, etc.

all heroes suffer more or less when brought down from their pedestals and 'compelled to mingle with the crowd.' "

"You remember, my dear Menippus, the elegant Petronius; I am just informed that he, in consequence of a hint from the gentle Nero, suggesting to him that his accomplishments were no longer agreeable at court, has perished by his own hand."¹

Spain produced many celebrated and worthy men about this period, among whom was C. Silius Italicus, a celebrated advocate, born A. D. 20. In A. D. 68 he was sent pro-consul to Asia,—he also wrote a history of the Second Punic War; L. Annæus Seneca, born just before the Christian era; Pomponius Mela, the geographer, was also born in Spain, A. D. 48,—he left a work on Chorographia, *De Solis Orbis*; M. Valerius Martialis was born in Spain, at Bilbilis, A. D. 43, and became so poor that he begged for cast-off clothing; he lived in a garret because he could not afford the luxury of a fourth story; he was ill understood. He went to Rome, where he became a great favorite of Titus and Domitian, and left twelve hundred epigrams in fourteen books. Lucan, a stoic, author of *Pharsalia*, was born in Spain, A. D. 38.² M. Fabius Quintilian

¹ Petronius Arbiter was a skilled but depraved Latin writer, who furnished voluptuous literature, and figured as the *Arbiter elegantie* at the court of Nero; but the court had outgrown him in licentiousness, and he was dismissed with a gentle hint from Tigellinus that his suicide would save the trouble of summon-

ing an executioner. Petronius interposed no defense. He committed suicide, A. D. 66. He was author of *Satyricon*, a classical but scandalous work. He furnishes no testimony as to Christians.— Cf. *Heathen Records* (Dr. Giles), p. 91.

² *Suetonius*, p. 544.

was born in Spain, A. D. 42; he was the preceptor of the younger Pliny. His *History of Ancient Literature* is a very precious work.¹ But from the sixth to the sixteenth century, or from the fall of paganism and ascension of Christianity to the beginning of the age of skepticism, Spain produced no noted men in any department of science or literature, except as heretics and dissenters from the established church. During the earlier period of the later contest the Arab carried learning and the arts to a degree of cultivation far beyond anything known to Christian Spain.²

The revolt of Caius Julius Vindex,³ governor of Gaul, was hatched in Spain, during the period of Apollonius's exile there. The prominent conspirators and principals were on intimate terms with him, and it is said that he was consulted and advised with, concerning the insurrection⁴ (A. D. 68), which ended the dynasty of Nero. Damis, in his journal, very cautiously suggests that a plot may have been contrived between Apollonius and Vindex, as they had frequent interviews,⁵ one of which lasted three days; and Apollonius

¹ Cf. *Quintilian Vita* (Hummel, 1843); *Quintilian and Rousseau* (V. Otto, 1836); *Institutes of Oratory*, vol. ii. p. 4, *et seq.*

² *History of Spanish Literature*, by Frederick Bouterwek, translated from the German, by Thomasina Ross, with notes, 12mo. (London), p. 2; *Literature of S. Europe* (Sismondi), art. Spain.

³ Cf. *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges*, etc., par A. Chassang, p. 194, *et seq.*

⁴ Sulpicius Galba had been born about the same time as Apollonius; he had been consul in A. D. 33 under Tiberius, and at the time of the revolt commanded the army in Spain. He is said to have been the richest private person that ever came to the imperial seat.—Cf. *Plutarch*, vol. iii. p. 463; *Suetonius*, p. 408; *Annals of Tacitus*, b. iii. 55.

⁵ *An Account of the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus* (Tillemont), p. 17.

afterward admitted that, in the assistance he gave to Vindex, he aimed a blow against the power of Nero. And there seems but little doubt, from all the facts presented, that the voluntary exile of Apollonius in Spain was a mission for the very purpose of furthering and perfecting the revolt which so soon followed his departure. He was on terms of intimacy, and was in communication with all the men of wealth and influence in every part of the empire who opposed the administration of Nero, and then his wonderful secretiveness seems to have preëminently qualified him for this work of treason. Not even Damis, his constant companion, as he frequently complains, knew or understood the movements of Apollonius. Frequent conferences were held between the governor of the province of Bætica and Apollonius, the import of which no one knew save themselves;¹ they certainly were never for philosophical discussions or discourses, the governor having no taste for such pursuits, although a man of excellent character. They sometimes met at Gades. Damis supposes that a plot was contrived for putting Nero to death. When they parted, the governor embraced Apollonius, taking leave of him with these words: "Farewell, and remember Vindex." Thus, while Nero was singing at Naples and Achaia, and blaspheming the solemnity of the Isthmian and Olympian games, a rebellion was maturing in the Hesperian province destined to deprive him of his crown.

On the fall of Nero, Pliny, a friend of Apollonius, was immediately sent procurator to Spain by Galba,

¹ Réville's *Pagan Christ*, p. 31; *Plutarch*, vol. iii. 464.

and remained during the first years of Vespasian.¹ Hadrian, Ulpino, Nerva, and Trajan were all from Spain.²

After these events in Spain, Apollonius and his disciples passed over into Africa,³ Mauretania, or Numidia, which had become a Roman province with Sállust as pro-consul, whence, partly by land and partly by sea, they journeyed along the African coast, visiting the principal places, as Cæsarea and Carthage.⁴ The last had been taken and burned by order of the Roman senate, but which was now being remodeled and rebuilt under an order of Cæsar Augustus. They visited the site of the ancient temple of Æsculapius at Carthage, said to have been the most elegant structure in existence.⁵ Apollonius thinks Carthage better fitted for extensive dominion than any city on the African coast, and far more desirable than Rome. The city lay in the recesses of a bay to the west of the Mercurii promontorium, and was sheltered in its position, which commanded both the eastern and western Mediterranean, and faced Rome, with Sicily close at hand as a stepping-stone or vantage-ground in the struggle of conquest or commerce; and he thinks Carthage and not Rome ought to have been the center of political

¹ *Eunapii Sophistæ præfatis in Vitas Philosophorum* (Geneva, anno 1616); Plutarch's *Lives*, Galba.

² Rev. Edward Berwick's translation of *Philostratus*, b. v. ch. vii. p. 202; Tacitus' *Annals*, b. iv. 58.

³ *Tillemont*, p. 18.

⁴ *Blavatsky*, vol. i. p. 520; cf. *The Geography of Herodotus* (Wheeler, 1854, London), p. 552.

⁵ *Carthage and her Remains, being an Account of Excavations and Researches on the Site of the Phœnician Metropolis*, etc., by Dr. N. Davis, F. R. G. S. (London, 1861); see *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Livy*, *Apollonius*; also Mommson's *History of Greece; Historical Researches into the Politics, Trade, etc., of the Carthaginians*, by A. H. L. Heeren, vol. i. p. 26.

power. Since the Carthaginian defeat by Scipio (B. C. 149) and the burning of the city by order of the senate, it had remained little else than a heap of ashes up to the period of Julius Cæsar, who conceived the idea of rebuilding the city; his plan was carried out by Augustus, and with so much success that Carthage had never been so flourishing or powerful as at the period of Apollonius's visit.¹ From Carthage they sailed to Utica, where they remained but a short time, and took ship for Sicily, anciently settled by the Sicani, a people of Spain, who formerly possessed the island until driven out by Sicul. They landed at Lilybæum,² a town of Sicily, founded by the Carthaginians,³ under Hannibal the younger. It was here that Apollonius heard for the first time of the flight and death of Nero (A. D. 68), who had committed suicide at the villa of Phaon, one of his freedmen, four miles from the city of Rome, between the Salarian and Nomentana Ways.⁴ Although Apollonius had heard nothing from Rome,⁵ he knew a revolution was progressing. When Nero

¹ It is painful again to refer to the melancholy fact that with Carthage, as with many other cities referred to in this work, there seems to have been a chasm in its history from about B. C. 122 to A. D. 439. The only information we gather during this period of it is from the itineraries of men like Apollonius; and this is meager enough.

² This promontory forms the western point of the triangle of Sicily, and Strabo says that from this point you could see vessels enter and depart from the port of Carthage.

³ There are no coins and but few medals which commemorate Carthaginian history. Their coins are nearly all of Grecian manufacture. The type is Dido, and legends refer to its founder (Dido) with the palm-tree (Phœnician) and the head of the horse, which is always considered a favorable omen.—Humphrey's *Coin Manual*, vol. i. p. 63; cf. Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman Hist.*, b. 4, ch. xiv. etc.

⁴ *Eutropius*, book 7, ch. xx. etc.; Murphy's *Tacitus*, p. 336.

⁵ *Suetonius*, Nero, b. 14, p. 380.

first heard of the insurrection, he appeared insensible of its magnitude, treated it scornfully, and said he would produce the revolt on the stage if Vindex would permit it. Being aroused at last, however, by the numerous proclamations of Vindex treating him with reproaches and contempt, he, in a letter to the senate, exhorted them to avenge his wrongs and those of the republic, desiring them to excuse him for not appearing in the senate, as he had a cold. To these entreaties the senate remained inactive. This was a great insult. But nothing so much galled him as to find himself railed at as a pitiful harper, and, instead of Nero, called by his family name, Ænobarbus. But when he heard that Galba and the Spanish army had declared against him, he fainted.¹ He soon recovered, however, exclaiming: "*It is all over with me.*"²

There are historians who have discovered no redeeming quality, ever so small, in Nero, and I must myself say that his good qualities were microscopical; but he was far in advance of his day in his love of art and nature.³

¹ Murphy's *Tacitus*, 329.

² The coins of Nero bearing his effigy are abundant in all metals and all denominations, as well Roman as colonial Greek and Egyptian. Of his wives, however, there are few of Roman mintage, and they are rare in any other class. The portrait of Octavia, whose beauty and virtue could not save her from repudiation and death, is found on several foreign coins. Poppæa, her depraved but beautiful successor, is found most commonly on the *potin*

coinage of Alexandria, and her daughter Claudia, who died at four months old (A. D. 64), has a small brass coin struck in her memory. The portrait of his third wife, Statilia Messalina, is only found on imperial Greek money.—Humphrey's *Manual*, vol. i. p. 322.

³ The Romans cared little for natural beauty. They showed great taste in selecting their sites high above the level of the surrounding districts, so that an unlimited view for three-quarters of the horizon

Nero being the last of the imperial line of the Cæsars, his death was the signal for a general disruption. Galba, Vindex, Otho, and Vitellius succeeded each other as rulers in Rome with alarming rapidity. Lucius Clodius Macer, a Roman general stationed in Africa, also aspired to be emperor, and raised a revolt, but Galba wielded supreme power long enough to put him to death.¹ Galba was slain in the road near the Lake Curtius, in the Forum Boarinni; Vindex was murdered; Otho went into exile in Gaul;² Vitellius was

was secured, but that was all. The idea of such a thing as an American park or an American play-ground was unknown to them. Their most famous villas were painfully and artificially stiff, being laid out in regular squares and parallelograms, with avenues crossing at right angles, or were terraced with a geometrical precision, in straight and symmetrical lines. Even the vegetation was forced into rigid geometrical figures; every trace of the free impulse of nature was annihilated.

But there is one exception to this rule: there was one man who conceived and carried out the idea of the simplest and grandest natural park; and that man was Nero. The place selected for this great work was one of the most savage cliffs of the Apennines, the gorge of the Simbruine chain between Subiaco and Terni through which the Arno forces its way into the lower valley crossed by the Via Valeria. He began by damming the precipitous river three times, each dam being at a lower level than the preceding

one, and obtained in this way three lakes and three magnificent waterfalls. The dam was nearly two hundred feet high, forty-four feet thick, and sixty-six feet wide, and supported by a bridge numbering some twenty arches, seven of which have been discovered. The lake extended two miles into the heart of the mountain, winding through the projecting spurs, and shaded by dense foliage and overhanging rocks. On its banks were constructed many buildings, which, from their small size and strange architecture, may be considered to have been used as hunting, fishing, and bathing lodges. One of these elegant little establishments has been discovered right under the masonry of Santa Scolastica, at the place at which the mountain stream, now called Fosso di St. Croce, fell into the lake.

¹ The coins of this prince (Macer) were struck in Africa.

² A few coins were struck in the name of Otho, bearing the figure of Victory.—Humphrey's *Manual*, vol. i. p. 324.

lost while dreaming of supreme power.¹ Little now remains to commemorate their short and eventful reigns except a few coins and medals.²

Having now visited all the temples at Lilybæum, including that of Venus on Mount Eryx,³ and paid his respects to their gods, Apollonius set out for Agrigentum,⁴ where they arrived on the fifth day (94 miles), having passed through Selinus⁵ and Heraclea Minoa.

Agrigentum had been the birthplace of Empedocles (B. C. 450), the historian, orator, and poet.⁶ It was here

¹ Servius Sulpicius Galba was born of a noble family, B. C. 4. He was consul under Tiberius, A. D. 33. Under Caligula he commanded the army in Germany. Claudius made him governor in Africa. On the death of Nero he was in command of the army in Spain, A. D. 68. The troops proclaimed him emperor, which was confirmed by the senate. After a reign of seven months he lost favor, and was slain on the road. He was beastly in his habits. In his lusts he preferred the male sex and such as were old; he kept a score of catamites.

² The coins of Galba now extant are very fine and numerous, and, as historical mentors, have their value. They may be known by the head of Galba, military figure, female standing, and female with ears of corn; inscribed, ROMA. PENASC.—IMP. AVG.—DIVA. AVGVSTVS.—IMP. SER. SVLP. GALBA. CAES. AVG. TR. P.—LIB. AVG.—SER. GALBA. IMP. CAES. AVG. TR. P. They are of all

the metals — gold, silver, bronze, brass, copper. Some of these coins were restored by Titus and Trajan. — *Histoire des Empereurs Romains depuis Jules César jusqu'à Postumus, avec toutes les médailles d'argent qu'ils ont fait battre de leurs temps*, etc., par J. B. Haultin (Paris, de Somnaville, 1645).

³ *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology* (Knight), p. 55.

⁴ *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, by C. O. Müller, vol. ii. p. 168.

⁵ *History of Greek Sculpture* (Murray), p. 79. A Phœnician city, now a heap of ruins, where there is not even shelter for wild beasts. It once contained a population of a million. In Apollonius's day it was an important and wealthy city, noted for its commerce and its magnificent temples, of which there were three principal ones. (Strabo says it was in ruins in his day.)

⁶ Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, b. iii. 1, 8.

that the peculiar sect of philosophers known as "empirics," was founded by Acron. Apollonius visited the temple of Jupiter Olympus,¹ where he remained during his stay in the city. This temple he regarded as one of the four largest and most important in the world,² the others being Diana at Ephesus, Jupiter at Athens, and Venus at Carthage,—he discoursing in the mean time to his followers on the glory of the ancient city,³ and how the philosopher Zeno conspired against one of its rulers, named Phalaris, who had enslaved the people, for which he was apprehended and put to tortures: he, however, confessed none of the names of his accomplices, but during his sufferings continued to harangue the people on their inactivity and blindness, and their power to cure their grievances.⁴ Telemachus, a simple citizen, discovered a half-suppressed murmur of approbation among the populace during the harangue of Zeno, and, taking advantage of the moment, called on all those who despised the tyrant to follow him. All Agrigentum was in a moment at his back. He immediately proceeded to the palace, seized upon the person of Phalaris, and stoned him to death. Both rulers and people of our time, said Apollonius, have many such opportunities before them, and many examples, yet

¹ The dimensions of this great temple at Agrigentum, of which the site now hardly remains, were three hundred and fifty-five feet long, one hundred and seventy-two wide, and was located so as to overlook the city.

² *History of Ancient Art* (Franz von Reber), p. 220.

³ The coins of Agrigentum

(ΑΚΡΑ) confirm many important events in its ancient and early history; the types are the head of the river god, the eagle, and the crab. These coins, except one of Augustus in bronze, are too old to be serviceable in our inquiry.

⁴ Zeller, *Phil. der Griechen*, p.

1020.

they are slow to learn from the experience of others, and generation after generation of subjects are tyrannized over, and generation after generation of rulers come to violent deaths, because they do not heed these lessons. If a man resist not the first outrage, he is far less able to resist the second, for the same difficulty that in the beginning might have been surmounted grows greater in the end. "The sword was made to use when the occasion requires, and by using it we gain respect." Apollonius also visited the temple of Æsculapius, and all the other temples of the city,¹ and having no further business departed for Syracuse, a city founded by Achias of Corinth seven centuries before the time of Apollonius.² At the time of his journeyings Syracuse was the largest city in the world. The perimeter of its walls, says he, was one hundred and eighty stadia; and Cicero, one hundred years earlier, calls it the greatest and most beautiful of all Grecian cities.³ The decline of Syracuse may, however, be fixed at that period when it fell beneath the sword of leviathan Rome.⁴

¹ Temple of Concord, Ceres, Juno, Hercules. The Egyptian Apis was also worshiped in this city.

² *Eusebius*.

³ *Cicero in Verr*, b. iv. 53; *Pomponius Mela*, b. ii. 17.

⁴ Haydn, in his *Dictionary of Dates*, gives no item in the history or chronology of Syracuse between B. C. 60 and A. D. 669, over seven hundred years a blank, during probably the most interesting and eventful period of Syracusan history. The coins of Syracuse are too early to serve any historical purpose with

us, but as works of art the early coinage of Syracuse has no parallel; that wonderful "*decadrachm*," with the serpent head of Proserpine or Ceres on the obverse and the magnificent quadriga four-horse chariot on the reverse, the dashing grandeur of which, with Victory crowning the driver, is worthy of a Phidias or a Lysippus. It is superior to anything produced by the parent states of Greece. The head of Pallas on the coins of Thurium, and on those of Athens, the head of Jupiter on the didrachms of Philip of Macedon,

On arriving at Syracuse,¹ Apollonius discovered that quite a tumult had been occasioned by the circulation of a report to which credence had been given, that a Syracusan woman of noble family had given birth to a monster such as was never before seen, to which various interpretations had been given by the vulgar. Apollonius sent Damis to ascertain if the report was true, and after the most diligent search Damis was unable to get a sight of the monster, but was made acquainted with its character by many who had seen it; he reported that the creature had three heads, and a body of marvelous structure, resembling a sea-monster. In the interpretation of this startling phenomenon, Apollonius said: "Rome shall have three emperors, none of whom shall live to secure imperial power." He had reference to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; this probably was said to appease the superstition of his hearers, and whether it was a shrewd political guess by one

the head of Diana on some of those of Ephesus, and Juno on the coins of Argos, and Pegasus on those of Corinth, are undoubtedly grand, but none reach in excellence the early productions of Syracuse. The head of Jupiter, the liberator, Diana, the saviour, and the Dolphin, were early Syracusan types. The inscriptions are in Doric; on the obverse they generally bore the image of the heads of Apollo, Diana, Soteira, Proserpine, and other deities. It will be impossible to give any adequate notion of the coins of Syracuse or even of Sicily, during the period embraced in our sketch, for after the death of Augustus,

Sicilian coins became the currency of the civilized world.—Humphrey's *Coin Collector's Manual*, p. 68; cf. *Imperatorum Romanorum numismata a Pompejo M. ad Heraclium ab. A. Oecone olim congesta, studio et cura* (Biragi, 1683). Of the medals of Syracuse which have survived, there is one in bronze bearing the portrait of Gelon, who succeeded Hippocrates (485 B. C.), and one of Hiero I., brother and successor of Gelon, and one (another Hiero) also in bronze.

¹ He visited all the principal cities on the island.—Le Grand D'Aussy's *Life of Apollonius*, vol. ii. p. 98.

who was in the ring, or a prophecy, I shall not pretend to say.

Apollonius and his associates now took up their abode in the temple of Minerva;¹ but he made frequent visits to the temples of Juno and Jupiter Olympus,² and discoursed much with the priests, by whom he was well received and entertained. All of these temples, as well as the walls of the city, had undergone thorough repairs during the reign of Caligula.³ They also visited the sacred inclosure and grove dedicated to Apollo,⁴ in which was erected a colossal statue of Apollo Temenites; nothing but its vast magnitude prevented it from being stolen by the sacrilegious hands of Verres; it did not, however, escape Tiberius, who removed it to the island of Capreae.⁵ It was at Syracuse that Archimedes was born, and it was here he fell a sacrifice to the stupidity of one of the soldiers of Marcellus during the siege of the city (212 B. C.) Theocritus,⁶ the poet, who charmed all Greece and Egypt by the beauty, simplicity, and wisdom of his idyls, was a native of Syracuse, as also was Philistus the historian and the patriotic Hermocrates; and the noble deeds of Timoleon were performed here. And it was to Syra-

¹ Now the Christian church, "Our Lady of the Pillar."—*Marq. of Ormonde*.

² Built by Hiero, and in which he displayed the Gallic and Illyrian spoils presented by the Roman senate. It is now the church of San Giovanni.

³ *Plutarch*, vol. i. p. 376; *Old Rome* (Burns), p. 177, *et seq.*

⁴ And hence the representation

of Apollo Temenites on the beautiful coins of Syracuse, accompanied with a lyre and sacrificial vessel; it alluded to his character as exciter of pestilence, with Diana, the goddess of healing and harmony, on the reverse.

⁵ *Travels in Sicily, Greece, etc.* (Hughes), vol. i. p. 82.

⁶ *History of Greek Literature* (Mahaffy), p. 411.

cuse Sappho was exiled, and here she died, and Sicily erected a statue to her, by Selanion, in the Prytaneum,¹ which was stolen by Verres.² After having fulfilled his mission at Syracuse Apollonius and his friends proceeded to Catana, which stands near the base of Mount Ætna, an eruption of which had a few years prior to this (A. D. 40) so frightened Caligula that he fled from Messina where he was then stopping, and could never after be persuaded to visit Sicily.

Here our travelers had related to them the old tradition that Typhœus was chained in the subterranean passages of this mountain, and from whom issued that fire which fed Ætna; also the absurd story that the thunder-stricken Enceladus, having been vanquished by Jupiter, was bound in chains and buried beneath the load of Ætna, in the fiery workshop of Hephraïa (pit of Hades), and in his respirations vomits fire.³ Our philosophers listened to all these idle tales. They, however, accounted for the phenomenon in a more natural way. Apollonius introduced the discussion with asking his companions, "What think you of mythology as written and sung by the poets?" "And what think you of fables as related by Æsop?" "And which do you consider contains the most wisdom?"

¹ The Prytaneum was a place in which the magistrates and others eminent for their public services might take their meals.—*Livy*, lib. i. 141.

² Her native Lesbos, however, atoned for her exile by stamping her image on their money as that of the genius of their cities.—*The*

Geography of Herodotus, by T. Wheeler, p. 92.

³ The idea of Ætna being a vomitory of hell was subsequently a received article of Christian faith.—*New Curiosities of Literature and Book of the Months*, by George Sloane, B. A., 2 vols. (London, 1849), vol. ii. p. 24.

"Those of the poets," replied Menippus, "because they are sung as if true, and have the air and possibility of truth about them, whereas the stories about frogs and asses are absurd, triflings with truth, and are only fit to be swallowed by old women and children." "And yet," said Apollonius, "they appear to me best adapted to convey wisdom. The heroic fables with which the poetry abounds which you seem to favor are often corrupt and very absurd. They are made up of amours, incestuous marriages, blasphemies against the gods, unbecoming and criminal strategies resorted to, to gratify the passion for glory or lust. The poets do not appeal to the higher attributes of man, but to his lower instincts, and they stimulate his desire to gratify or propitiate the gods who were avaricious, lascivious, and cruel, rather than cultivate those tender emotions which go out from man to his fellows and exalt him. The method of the poets is the old method involving the code, that 'to the gods belong all things.'¹ But Æsop in his wisdom has opened a new and I think a more praiseworthy road to wisdom and virtue, in laying before us the claims of humanity. He treats us with common fare, it is true, frogs and asses (μυθός Αἰσώπειος), but his feast is well served and is replete with great moral instruction. The poets use every strategy to give their mythology the air of probability, and then leave us to examine into its reality. Æsop presents us no such alternative; he proposes his story of talking animals and sensible things, which we all know to be false, with an aptness of attribute which

¹ Cf. *History of Classical Greek Literature* (Mahaffy), vol. i., *The Poets*; Aristotle's *Treatise on Poetry* (Twining), vol. ii. pp. 373, 411.

shows his wonderful ready wit; and then he subjoins his moral, the force of which the most ordinary person can understand. We begin in our very infancy to suck in knowledge and instruction from the works of Æsop.¹ We form noble and ignoble notions of certain animals, of their innocence and cunning, which never desert us. The oracle which Æsop has annexed to every fable never fades from our memories. For these reasons, I prefer Æsop to Homer," said Apollonius.² "Having proposed a discussion on the phenomenon of Ætna, I may be accused of trifling by indulging in this praise of fables. As to the highly improbable though common story of the giant Typhœus, or Enceladus, bound in chains,³ I know not; but I know there are giants, for their bodies have been seen wherever their tombs were opened.⁴ And although I make this asser-

¹ *A History of Classical Greek Literature*, by Rev. J. Mahaffy, 2 vols., vol. i. p. 93, etc.; also, *Manual of the Hist. of Greek and Roman Literature* (Matthiæ), p. 28, etc.

² Aristophanes calls the fables of Æsop ἱστοί, and not μυθολογίαι.—Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 364; Plutarch, in *Convivio Septem Sapientium*, p. 150.

Plato, after having banished Homer from his commonwealth, gave Æsop a very honorable place in it. He wishes that children were to suck these fables with their milk, and recommends nurses to teach them, for one cannot accustom children too soon to wisdom and virtue.

³ Pindar, in *Pythian Odes*; Æschylus, Thucydides, and Virgil refer frequently to Ætna; so also Aristotle and others.

⁴ Strabo mentions the skeleton of a giant sixty cubits in height. Pliny tells of another forty-six cubits. Boccaccio describes one found in Sicily in a cave, two hundred cubits in length, and whose tooth weighed two hundred ounces. Antæus, sixty cubits in height, mentioned by Plutarch; Eleazar, mentioned by Josephus. Pausanias, in third volume, p. 271, note to vol. i., gives some interesting details about giants. The best-attested accounts of giants are those of Acamas, one of the Cyclops; Brontes, another of the Cyclops; Pyrachmon, another; Agrios,

tion, I do not believe that they ever fought with the gods;¹ but I know that they, as well as the gods, behaved scandalously and with great irreverence in their temples and at their shrines; but as to their scaling the heavens and driving the gods into exile, I think it foolish to conceive and blasphemous to utter." Apollonius declared that these eruptions were caused by internal submountain and submarine fires seeking vent, and these were nourished by winds, which penetrate into the mountain.²

"There are many burning mountains," said he, "on various parts of the earth, and it is the greatest absurdity to assign their activity to the agency of giants and Vulcans. For these things the poets are responsible."³ Apollonius said "he did not believe the

one of the Titans; Alcyoneus (Argonautic expedition); Clytios, killed by Vulcan; Cormoran, the Corinthian giant (Jack the Giant-killer); Eurytios, killed by Bacchus; Godmer, a British giant; Maul, the giant of sophistry; Patrick Cotter, 8 feet 7½ inches; William Evans, 8 feet; Gabara (Arab), 9 feet 9 inches; John Middleton, 9 feet 3 inches.—*Les Mystères du Syncretisme Phrygien dans les Catacombes Romaines de Pretextat*, par Raphael Garrucci, S. J. (1854), p. 215.

¹ *Pausanias*, vol. iii. p. 338, notes to vol. ii.

² These ideas were more fully exposed in a poem by Lucilius Junior, procurator of Sicily under Nero, entitled *Ætna*. The authorship of this poem, however, has long been a disputed point; it has

been attributed to Virgil, Claudian, Quintilius, Varus, Manilius, and, by Joseph Scaliger, to Cornelius Severus, to whom Septimius Severus was related. He was author of *Bellum Siculum*; he lived in the days of Augustus. Lucilius ridicules the ideas of the poets as regards the connection of *Ætna* with Vulcan and the Cyclops, as well as those myths, Demeter and Proserpine, Acis and Galatea, Polyphemus and Cyclops.—*Cf.* Lucilius Junioris, *Ætna, Recensuit notasque*; Jos. Scaliger, *Frid Lindenbruchii et suas addidit* (Fredericus Jacobs, Lipsiæ, 1826); *L'Ætna de Lucilius Junior*, par Chenu (Paris, 1843), p. 8.

³ *Ætna: A History of the Mountain and its Eruptions*, by G. F. Rodwell (London, 1878), p. 4, etc.; *An Account of the Principal Re-*

popular story that the most excellent Empedocles, the Pythagorean and stoic, being accused of pride and impiety, precipitated himself into the crater of Ætna, in order to give currency to the story of his apotheosis and to obtain divine honors." "Then," said Damis, "I suppose we may utterly dismiss the more popular story that his brazen sandals were thrown out of the mouth of the crater five days after his immolation." Exhorting all men to the practice of virtue, Apollonius closed his discourse.¹ He passed one year in Sicily, whence, designing to visit Athens a second time, he took ship at Messana,² and in the autumn, about the rising of the star Arcturus (first of September, A. D. 69), passed over into Greece. The voyage was prosperous and favored with good winds as far as Leucas, on the island Leucadia, where arriving, he said to his followers: "Let us leave this ship, for it is not good for us to sail in her to Achaia." These words made an impression only on those who knew the man. They

mains of Antiquity of the Island (Marquis of Ormonde), p. 127.

The contest of earth and sky (Ouranous and Ge), which the Greek fable Typhœus (Τυφών) brings before us, not only the locality associated with volcanic energy about Ætna, but is traceable in the Calacecaumene and elsewhere in Asia Minor, and in the more general form, which recognized a powerful spirit of evil. It occurs in Egyptian mythology, when Typhon is opposed to Osiris, and as Ahri-man to Ormuzd in Persian story.—*Vesuvius*, by John Phillips, p. 2;

Iliad, b. i. 780; *Pythian Ode*, Pindar, i. 33; *Æschylus*, i. 363; *Diodorus Siculus*, iv. c. 21; cf. *Strabo*.

¹ It is more probable that Empedocles, like Pliny, perished through his devotion to science, and the foolish story of his immolation was a fabrication of his enemies. The fame of Empedocles was very great. In the fine painting of Raphael representing the school of Athens, Empedocles is placed between Archimedes and Pythagoras.

² Cf. *The Principal Remains of Antiquity existing in Sicily*, etc. (Marquis of Ormonde), p. 22, etc.

then embarked in another vessel and left port for Lechæum, the sea-port of Corinth. They had hardly left the harbor when boisterous weather set in, and after three days' struggling with the elements, put into the port of Ithaca, on one of the Ionian islands, for supplies. Then they made sail and stood to the eastward with fairer weather, but were compelled to make the harbor Chalcis; and while lying in this port they heard of the loss of the Syracusan ship which they had left at Leucas. She sank while navigating the Gulf of Crissa.¹ From Chalcis they sailed for Lechæum, in the Bay of Corinth, where they debarked and proceeded to Corinth,² and without halting pressed on to Port Schœnus, on the Saronic Gulf, spending one night, however, at the temple Poseidon, near the port, and on the next day sailed for Athens. At Athens Apollonius met the philosopher Demetrius, whom Nero had retired after his celebrated speech concerning the oil-baths. The pleasure of their meeting was mutual, and after two days of counsel and conference Apollonius presented himself for initiation into the mysteries, and the rites were performed by the very hierophant whom he declared should be the successor of the hierophant who had formerly refused him initiation.³ Apollonius was frequently with Demetrius, the latter of whom had remained in Greece during all the time that Nero was conducting himself so indecently at public exhibitions,⁴

¹ Berwick's *Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 266.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 188.

² For description, see *Geography of Herodotus*, by Talboys Wheeler, p. 41, etc.

⁴ Suetonius, *Nero*, b. xxiii.; *Histoire des Empereurs* (Merivale).

although he felt that it was hazardous to do so; but with the murder of the tyrant came relief. Demetrius told Apollonius that he had visited Corinth and had seen Musonius at the isthmus bound in chains and forced to dig. Musonius recognized Demetrius, and raising his eyes, said: "I know, Demetrius, you are troubled to see me thus employed, but what would you have said had you seen me playing on a harp, like Nero?" Musonius was reinstated under Vespasian, and was made an exception to the general sentence of Vespasian exiling all stoics. Apollonius passed the winter in Greece, and in the spring he determined to go into Egypt. In visiting the several cities of Greece and their temples, he never failed giving those in charge the best advice of which he was possessed. He saw much to censure and much to commend, and he never spared praise when it was due. Great reformation was wrought in administering the rites and in the moral practice of the temples, through the teachings of Apollonius.

In pursuance of his determination to visit Egypt, he departed from Athens, taking the long way to Piræus, and sailed into Ionia. The ship in which they had engaged passage was freighted with images of gods, Lares and Penates, manufactured at Athens for the Ionian market. The merchant who owned the ship did not like the taking of passengers in the same ship with his sacred cargo. Apollonius inquired of him the cause of his dissatisfaction, and if he thought they would be likely to rob him of his treasures. He replied that he did not like so promiscuous a multitude, and feared the gods would be defiled by the vicious

conversations of passengers and common sailors. Apollonius could not suppress a smile at this, but continued in all seriousness: "My good sir, the vessels fitted out by you against the barbarians (for I perceive you are an Athenian) abound in all licentiousness, and yet the gods never thought themselves defiled by embarking in them. You are wrong in preventing philosophers going aboard of your vessel, in whose company the gods delight, and more especially when you are trying to turn these deities to the greatest advantage. Do you not think that yourself are guilty of a great impiety in hawking them from port to port, like a cargo of Hyrcanian or Scythian slaves? Think you there is no danger of the gods revolting at such profanation?"¹ Then, turning to his followers, he said: "It would be injudicious in us to attempt to go against the stream; it might expose us to danger. Socrates was the only man who had courage to undertake it, and it proved his ruin. Truth is known to a very few, and false opinions go current with the rest of the world. The wise man retires within the sanctuary of silence." Saying this, they retired and took passage in another ship for Chios. On arriving at Chios,² without going on shore, they quietly entered another ship, which the herald was proclaiming was ready to sail for Rhodes. They embarked in deep silence, this being the mood in which the master had passed several days, they all being desirous to please and obey him in all things. As the vessel was getting under way he

¹ Apollonius frequently indulged in sarcasm, but the pungency of the above is particularly refreshing. (Wheeler), p. 104, etc.; see Account of Chios, Newton's *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. i.

² See *Geography of Herodotus* p. 214.

raised his eyes to heaven and uttered a short invocation to the god Nereus¹ for his fatherly protection. A favorable wind soon carried them to their destination. On the morning of their arrival the sea-born "Island of the Sun" was in a garment of fog, but they went on shore. Rhodes presented many things of interest to Apollonius and his companions. It was celebrated in antiquity as the island of serpents, hence the legend of the dragon, probably. Apollonius supposed the monster to have been brought from Egypt, and was simply a crocodile — quite impossible.

"What," said Damis one day as they were viewing the Colossus, which was now in ruins, having been thrown down by an earthquake many years before,² "do you consider greater than this monstrous work of art?" "A man," said the master, "whose mind is devoted to philosophy."

Rhodes³ was celebrated as being the birthplace of Apollonius, the sculptor, whose great work in marble, Zethus and Amphion, Pliny says, was brought to Rome. It is now probably at Naples, as "Toro Farnese." Also of Pergamon, the sculptor, who produced "The Wrestlers."

Here also flourished Apollonius Rhodes, and here he obtained great honors. This was the same Apollonius

¹ Νηρῆυς, a marine divinity of classic mythology, son of Pontus and Earth. He lived at the bottom of the sea, and possessed the secret of the golden apples of Hesperides.

² This celebrated work of art was made of bronze from the spoils left by Demetrius Poliorcetes, when he

raised the prolonged siege of Rhodes. The sculptor was Chares, a native of Lindus. It occupied twelve years in construction, and was seventy cubits high.—*Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts in Athen*, part i. p. 45.

³ *Geography of Herodotus* (Wheeler), p. 96.

who succeeded Eratosthenes as keeper of the great library at Alexandria (180 B. C.) He was the author of *Argonautica*.¹

The celebrated Greek stoic philosopher, Posidonius,² of whom Cicero was a pupil, resided and taught moral philosophy at Rhodes. He was a native of Syria. The day Apollonius entered the harbor of Rhodes was two years before the city was taken by Vespasian (A. D. 71).³ The harbor was filled with shipping from every country on earth; the Rhodians themselves being skillful navigators, and merchants possessing great wealth and learning. Apollonius was not insensible to the great advantage enjoyed by commercial peoples over those who were non-commercial, and especially was the contrast observable at Rhodes, for the Rhodians were familiar with the geography and products of all countries, and more foreign languages were spoken here than in any other known city. He commended the Rhodians for their industry and enterprise, as well as their love for learning and the arts. They worshiped the divine Apelles of Cos, the greatest of all artists; but Apollonius upbraided them for their want of devotion to the gods.⁴

Strabo assigns to Rhodes the title of "Sovereign Lady of the Sea." But the Rhodians themselves had long merited the title with which their own historian,

¹ Quintilian's *Institutes*, x. l. 54. Cf. Suetonius, *Life of the Twelve Cæsars*.

² Thomas's *Dictionary, Biog. and Myth*.

³ After this period absolutely nothing is known of Rhodes until

the period of the Knights Hospitalers, in the thirteenth century.

⁴ The old story, intelligence and the gods were never bed-fellows.—Cf. Suetonius, Tranquillus, *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*, etc., by Alex. Thompson, M. D. (London, 1855), p. 3.

Simmius, had invested them: "Sons of the Ocean." Their shipwrights acquired an early superiority in the construction of vessels,¹ and the dockyards of Rhodes had always been open to foreigners; it was a policy that built up for her an unparalleled commerce in the days of her ascendancy; no other people tolerated such freedom. The Rhodians had not yet forgotten their Doric manners, and they still preserved strong proneness for the mother tongue.²

Apollonius says that Rhodes was built in the form of an amphitheater, facing the harbor. The temples, and other public buildings, were adorned with celebrated works of art, in sculpture and painting; no less remarkable was the city itself, which contained more than three thousand statues, one hundred of which were colossal.³ The temples, the public buildings, the streets, the theaters, and every object which strikes the eye bore the stamp of grandeur and beauty.

Protogenes, one of the most celebrated painters of antiquity, was a native of Rhodes. He was seven years painting his Ialysus,⁴ and it was at his house that he had an interview with Apelles of Cos.⁵

¹ Their vessels were constructed with two masts, and were square-rigged (κρηαῖσι), with two sails on each mast (ἑστία μεγέλα), one above the other, with shrouds (σάκια).

² Cf. *An Excellent Account of the Island of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete, and their Antiquities* (published in 4to. by the learned professor, J. Meursis, at Amsterdam, 1672); Beloe's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. pp. 260, n. 118; Mitford's *History of Greece*,

vol. i. p. 175; Newton's *Travels in the Orient*, vol. ii. p. 241.

³ *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* (Müller), vol. ii. p. 408.

⁴ In whose honor coins were struck in the fifth century.

⁵ *Hist. of Ancient Art* (Von Reber), p. 381; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. c. vi. § 36.

The coins of Rhodes are numerous, and are in nearly an unbroken

At Rhodes Apollonius was introduced to a young man who had become suddenly rich, but who was without education. He was then building a house, and collecting pictures and statues from all parts of the world to adorn it. Apollonius inquired of him what money he had expended upon preceptors and education. "Not a drachma," said the young man. "Pray, what has your house cost you?" inquired Apollonius. "Twelve talents, and I believe it will cost as much more." "And what will you do with it?" said Apollonius. "I will live splendidly in it," said he; "for I shall have in it places proper for all manner of bodily exercise, and groves in which to walk; there will be little or no necessity for going even to the Forum. And men, I think, will come with as much pleasure to visit me as they would to a temple, and I have no doubt men will respect me." "But," said Apollonius, "are men to be respected on their own account, or on account of what they possess?" "The most universal respect is that," said the youth, "which is paid to riches; wealth is omnipotent ($\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$, Pindar). The educated man, it is true, commands respect solely on personal merit, but such respect is narrow and circumscribed." "Whom do you consider," said Apollonius, "the best guardian of wealth, the educated or unedu-

series from Tiberius to Commodus (200 A. D.) Some of the coins circulating here bore the inscription, AA.D. FRV. EMV. *Ad Fruges Emundus* (for buying corn); and again, ALIM. ITAL. *Alimenta Italiae*. The provision of Italy for the purchase of corn to be distributed in Italy.—H.

Goltzii, *Græciæ universæ Asiæque minoris et Insularum numismata veterum* (Antwerp, 1618), pp. 68-75.

The type of the coin of the city of Rhodes was almost exclusively limited to the head of Helios.—Humphrey's *Coin Manual*.

cated?" The youth was silent, whereupon Apollonius said, "In my opinion, you do not so much possess your house as your house possesses you; for when I enter a temple, it matters not how small, I have greater pleasure in seeing one worthy statue of ivory and gold than I have in seeing a spacious temple with an ill assortment of statues."

Damis says many things were said and done at Rhodes to the credit of Apollonius. Apollonius now resolved to sail immediately for Alexandria in Egypt, where the citizens loved him, and were as anxious about him as if he were an old acquaintance.¹ The people of Upper Egypt, who were more attached to philosophical than theological pursuits, had invited him to pay them a visit. He took ship at Rhodes, but the wind coming on to blow from the north and east, such was the exposed nature of the harbor of Rhodes that the vessel in which they had taken passage was obliged to make sail, and seek shelter elsewhere; they ran under the island of Cos. Cos was hallowed in the memory of Apollonius as being the birthplace of Hippocrates, called the "Divine Old Man," "Father of Medicine." To him is justly due the glory of having destroyed the theological notion of disease, and replacing it with practical and material ideas, and of compiling from the votive tablets that hung in the temple of Æsculapius a body of medical "prognostics." Praxagoras, the first writer on the pulse, was also a native of Cos; also Polybius, who established the rival sect of dogmatici.² As soon as the weather permitted they sailed for Cnidus, on the coast of Doris

¹ Berwick's *Life of Apollonius*, p. 160.

² Polybius *zur Geschichte antiker Politik*, etc. (K. W. Nitzsch, 1842).

in Caria. Here, after completing their cargo, they sailed directly for Alexandria. While at Cnidus Apollonius took occasion to visit the mausoleum erected to commemorate the defeat of the Lacedæmonians by the Athenian, Commodore Conon, in a great naval action which took place off Cnidus (B. C. 396). "This," said Apollonius, "is a perpetual memorial of Athenian supremacy over the sea." It stood upon a high promontory.¹ Owing to the south-easterly winds which prevail over the Carpathian Sea at this season of the year, and the deep lading of their ship, they were tossed about for five days, making little or no headway, and came near being driven on the rocky shores of Crete. More favorable weather, however, coming on, on the tenth day out they made the Pharos of Alexandria.

Apollonius entered the port of Alexandria in Egypt, A. D. 69. On the right was the sea and the great Pharos, and on the left the promontory of Lochias, upon which stood the palace or citadel of Marc Antony's fortress, called the Timonium, itself, as great an object of wonder as the light-house, on the other. In this port were more ships than in any other port in the world. Its export trade was greater than all Italy. The quays were busy with loading and unloading from strange vessels with uncouth sails and rigging. All this was of great interest to Apollonius, while Damis looked on in silent amazement.²

¹ *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, by C. T. Newton, M. A., 2 vols. (London, 1865), vol. ii. pp. 167, 227.

² The coins of Egypt have played no inconsiderable part in establishing its chronology, and in bridging many historical chasms. During

Alexandria at this period contained a population of at least 500,000 Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians;¹ the peace of the city was perpetually harassed by these factions, who possessed but few virtues in common.² With the Egyptian proper there existed an inordinate fondness for the theater, the hippodrome, and all dramatic representations; boxing, wrestling, and horse-racing were among the legitimate sports of the Alexandrian Greek. And yet all were marvelously

the first years of the reign of Nero, while yet under the tutorship of Seneca, there is attested upon her coins that Egypt was contented and happy under the Roman yoke. In the third year there is a coin with a queen sitting on the throne, with the word "agreement," meaning with his mother, Agrippina. On another the emperor is styled *the young good genius*, crowned with the double crown of Egypt. But that a change took place in Nero's conduct toward Egypt is evident from a coin of the thirteenth year of his reign. (See Alexandrian coins, page 217 of this work.) *De inscriptione quadam ægyptiaca Taurini inventa et characteribus ægyptiis olim et sinis communibus exarata*, etc. (Tuberville Needham, Romæ, 1761), p. 264, etc.; *Gerardi Hasselti, ampulla Isidis Ægyptia nunc primum luce publica donata et illustrata* (Traj. Batav. 1777). Egypt became a Roman province under Tiberius, A. D. 30.

¹ *The Conflict of Religion and Science* (Draper), p. 17.

² The great philosophical struggle in Alexandria was between Neo-Platonism and Olympianism. Neo-Platonism was strictly monotheistic, and utterly opposed to the worship of idols and practice of magic. But Olympianism was a magic-practicing and idol-worshipping polytheism. The former, in the day of Apollonius, was the religion of the philosophers (when they may be said to have had any); the latter, of the aristocracy. Its heaven was Olympus.—*Philo Judæus* (Bohn ed., 1855), vol. iv. p. 67.

Haydn, in his *Dictionary of Dates*, refers to the supplying of the city of Alexandria with a library by Antony in the place of the one burned under Julius Cæsar, B. C. 36 (which library Antony stole from Pergamus). After this, Haydn makes no reference to Alexandria until 297 A. D., except the massacre of a youth by Caracalla. And Alexandria was filled with local historians, and was as productive of stirring events during this lapse as at any previous or subsequent time.

religious,—a religion more encumbered with ceremonies, and accompanied with more outward splendor, than any other religion on earth. An infinite concourse of people combined in the celebration of their religious festivals, of which there were many. And such were the preparations made for them by the priests, that the people looked forward to them with pleasure as days of riot, licentiousness, and debauchery. They had their feasts of Diana, Isis, Minerva, Latona, Apis, and Mars. Luxuries introduced there were soon carried to the highest pitch; all gay and elegant amusements degenerated into licentiousness. These things were proverbial; public morals were corrupt; and yet of all the places known, its commerce was the most flourishing. It was the center of wealth, the metropolis of the world; to all of this Apollonius bears witness. The native Egyptians were a dark-skinned, industrious, patient, and mechanical race, capable of great intellectual exertion; and the liberal and useful arts were cultivated with a success equal to their commerce.¹ Apion (an author with whom Apollonius was familiar), in his history of Egypt (A. D. 44), considers them the most learned of all nations, and in consequence of their great love for study they have produced many learned works. They had correct ideas of the spherical form of the earth, its poles, axis, equator, arctic and antarctic circles, equinoctial points, solstices, specific gravity, and the precision of the equinoxes.² All of which, Apollo-

¹ Herodotus gives an account of the physical condition of the Egyptians, ii. 104, vol. i. p. 331. Μελέτησόντες εἰσι καὶ οὐλότροφοι. as's *Pronouncing Dict. of Biog. and Mythol.; Astronomy of the Ancients*

² Cf. *Conflict between Religion and Science* (Draper), p. 29. It was two thousand years before the world produced the equal of Archimedes and Conon in mathematics.—Cf. Thom-

as's *Pronouncing Dict. of Biog. and Mythol.; Astronomy of the Ancients* (Sir G. C. Lewis, 1862), p. 34, *et seq.*

nus says, is confirmed in the books on *Ethics and Physics*, written by Apollodorus Ephilius, the stoic.¹

Coming as Apollonius did from scenes of struggle and death, elemental, physical, and political,—Spain with her thunderstorms, Sicily with her volcanoes, and Rome with her political earthquakes;² from the barren highlands of Syria and the unexplored plains of Mesopotamia,—the sublime monotony of an azure and rainless sky;³ the limitless latitude of the great oasis of the Nile valley to his vision, with its perpetual interbreeding succession of life and death, was a new universe, with no discords, naught but a perpetual reign of symphonies.

¹ Both Cyrus and Darius sent to Egypt for medical men. Homer declares that her physicians “possessed knowledge above all other men.” And not only this, but wealthy Romans and even emperors aped Alexandrian manners and luxuries. Their scarlet robes, their jewelry, and trappings were made in Alexandria. The fast Roman youth used Alexandrian slang; the comic actor, whose jokes set the theater in a roar, was an Alexandrian; the street tunes, hummed up and down the Via Sacra, originated in Alexandria; and no breed of fighting-cocks equaled those of Alexandria.

² The policy of Rome had filled the city with beggars and noisy mobs; in Alexandria idleness was a crime. Had Rome encouraged agriculture and cultivated the campagna with half the assiduity of the Egyptians, she would not have been obliged to send to Egypt for corn.

³ *Lepsius* (Bohn ed.), p. 369. In Egypt there are no destructive floods nor freshets. In Egypt no rain ever falls. But when the bright dog-star, Sirius, rises with the sun, the mysterious Nile begins to swell, a calm and tranquil inundation covers the land, at once watering and, by the slime deposited, enriching it. If, when the waters have reached their height, the Nileometer, which measures the depth of the inundation, indicates eight cubits, the harvest at best will be a scanty one; but if it reaches fourteen cubits, the harvest will be plentiful. Thus, before a single seed was planted, while the waters still cover the fields and gardens, the crops of the Egyptian husbandman were hypothecated in the markets of Rome, Athens, Rhodes, Ephesus, Smyrna, etc. P. Victor says that Augustus imported yearly from Egypt twenty million bushels of corn, and in Justinian’s time eighty millions were sent to Constantinople.

The aspect of nature, the perpetual environment of increase and decay, the sublime spectacle of birth through the fructifying rays of the divine sun, personified in the all-wise Serapis,¹ was the consummation of eternal truth.²

The two main streets of Alexandria, which crossed each other at right angles, one extending east and west,³ from the gate of the Necropolis to the Canopic Gate, and the other from the great port to Lake Mareotis, were thronged incessantly with tradesmen, Arabs, priests, beasts of burden, and foreigners of every race, and from every nation under the sun. The dark Nubian, the black Ethiopian, the swarthy Jew, the sun-browned Arab, Greek, Persian, Hindoo, and Malay pass through the gates from dawn to dark. The crier stands upon the steps of the temple of Serapis, and calls to the heedless crowd, "All ye who are of clean hands and pure hearts, come to the sacrifice" (celebration of the mysteries of Isis). Statues of great men, and greater gods and goddesses, adorn every street. Here is the famous temple of Osiris-Apis, there the more famous one of Serapis,⁴ on your right the temple of Ammon-Ra, glittering with gold in the sunlight. All

¹ *Lepsius* (Bohn ed.), 435.

² Here this divinity was worshipped as a bull—not an image, but a living animal. It was the oracle which uttered the famous response to Hannibal,—*Λεβυωσα κρηγχι βοκος Ἀννιβαλ σεμας*, from which Hannibal concluded that he should be victorious, and return safely from Rome, and die a natural death, and be buried in Lybia. The

real meaning was not discovered until his defeat and suicide.

³ *Conflict between Religion and Science* (Draper), p. 18.

⁴ Isis and Serapis had a joint temple at Rome. The priests were called Isiaci. They abstained from mutton and pork, wore clean linen clothing and wooden and paper shoes, used no salt; lest they might violate their chastity they drank no wine.

Egypt adored the sun, the good god Ra, and a perpetual procession of worshipers swept through the corridor of his somber temple. On your left the Claudian Museum, whither flocked the students of the world; also the Soma, which held the bodies of Alexandria and the Ptolemies, and the enormous library founded by Demetrius during his exile from Athens. Now a procession of maidens (nuns) from the temple of Ceres and Proserpine obstructs the travel of the main thoroughfare, and the white-robed priestesses, with the sacred basket, emblem of plenty, cry out as they pass along, "Sinners away, keep your eyes on the ground, keep your eyes on the ground," for no sinner was permitted to look upon these holy women and preserve his sight. And on the left is the temple of Neptune, a kind of commercial exchange, crowded with boisterous merchants and brokers in a delirium of the corn exchange.¹ Damis, bewildered, declares "there are more gods than men in Alexandria."

"And this," soliloquized Apollonius, "is Alexandria, famous in all learning, the mother of wisdom, and beautiful from the hands of Grecian architects, whom Epiphanes, without rank and without treasures, delivered by a stroke of genius into the hands of Rome to save it from Lycia and Macedon" (B. C. 30).² The

¹ To the speculator of Alexandria corn was everything, and an advance or decline in the corn market was attended with results as disastrous and with an excitement unparalleled in the most exciting days of Wall Street; every language on earth was spoken here.—*Ancient Commerce*, etc. (Le Pain, London, 1831), p. 420; *The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded on the Ruins of her Temples, Palaces, and Tombs*, by William Osborne, 2 vols. (1854), vol. ii. p. 372.

² *History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs*, by Samuel Sharpe, 2 vols. (London, 1859), vol. ii. p. 74.

esteem in which the people of Alexandria held Apollonius was reciprocated, for he loved Egypt, next to his native Greece,¹ for her philosophy,² her people, her institutions, her chivalry. The heartless treatment of women in Rome contrasted marvelously with that of Egypt and Greece. Woman was the merest slave of brutal caprice in Rome. She ruled and was honored in Egypt and Greece, no door was barred against her, she could mount the throne, had her part in the priesthood, and was a queen in every house. The great goddess of Greece and Egypt was a mother;³ of Rome, a virgin. Soon after his arrival at Alexandria, Apollonius heard of the condemnation and suicide of Tigellinus, public procurator under Nero.

He was a frequent visitor at the temples of Osiris-Apis and Serapis, which were in the west quarter of the city,⁴ but refused to sacrifice, declaring that the whole race of prophets, from Janus to Clytius and Melampus, have been mistaken in proclaiming so many excellences the product of divine fire; and he rebuked the Egyptians as unskilled in knowledge of divine matters, and in the potentiality of their gods.⁵ The worship of

¹ Eusebius says: "By the Egyptians he was looked upon as the favorite of heaven; he claimed the power of working miracles by his magical skill, and of foretelling events by his knowledge of astrology. In the Thebaid he was so far honored that at the bidding of the priests one of the sacred trees spoke to him, as had been their custom from of old with favorites, and addressed him as a teacher from heaven."—*Eusebius against Hierocles*, lib. vi.

² The ethical school of Alexandria was founded by Zeno, the stoic.

³ *Female Warriors, Memorials of Female Valor*, etc., by Mrs. Needham, vol. i. p. 25.

⁴ Destroyed, A. D. 389.

⁵ Many Christians, it is said, sacrificed at this temple, and those who call themselves Christ's bishops are devotees of Serapis. Pausanias says: "Qu'il y avoit dans plusieurs villes de la Grèce des temples dédiés à Isis, à Serapis, et à d'autres Divinités Egyptiennes."—*Caylus*, p. 118.

Serapis¹ was coeval with the foundation of Alexandria, and was introduced from Sinope by the first Ptolemy. The statue of Serapis was obtained by force from Sythotherius, and speedily did the Sinopic god become the great god of his adopted country. Macrobius says (*Saturnaliorum*, 1-20): "The city of Alexandria pays almost frantic worship to Serapis and Isis. Yet all this veneration they maintain is but offered to the sun, Ammon-Ra,² under that title by their placing the corn measure upon his head."³ In the second century the syncretistic sects that had sprung up in Alexandria, the very hot-bed of gnosticism, found, or pretended they had found, in Serapis a prophetic type of Christ as the lord and creator of all, and judge of the living and the dead. Thus, at length Serapis had become merely the idea of the Supreme Being, whose manifestation upon the earth was the Christ. In this manner we are to understand the curious letter of Hadrian (about A. D. 130), preserved by Vopiscus: "Those who worship Serapis are also Christians; even those who style themselves bishops of Crestos are devoted to Serapis."⁴ The primitive form of this worship was simply adoration of the Nile, without the overflow of which Egypt must become a desert.⁵ They also worshiped the sacred cross (Nileometer), the symbol of life and regeneration, and in these temples—Osiris-Apis

¹ *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art*, etc. (Knight), p. 104.

² *Lepsius* (Bohn ed., 1853), p. 248.

³ There was a more ancient temple of Serapis at Memphis; consequently the importation from Sinope may have some element of romance in it.

⁴ Hadrian to his brother Servianus. Χρηστός (Chrestos or Crestos), *Heathen Records* (Dr. Giles), p. 88.

⁵ *Mythology and Fables* (Banier), i. 492; *Was Christ a God? Conclusions drawn from Apostolic writings* (Mensinga), p. 8.

and Serapis—was also associated the worship of the fructifying sun, Ammon-Ra, and these were the great gods of Egypt. The Nile was “the water of life,” and was sanctified by the sign of the cross, to the mystical “washing away of all sin.”

The identity of Æsculapius with the sun-god Serapis requires no further demonstration than that he was the son of Apollo and Coronis (sun-gods.)¹ In a statue of gold and ivory, at Epidaurus (now in Rome), he is represented with a long beard, and his head is surrounded with sun-rays. He had temples at Antioch, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thessaly, and Cos. His worship relates essentially to the mysteries or sacred rites. All his temples were sanctuaries, which only those might approach who had undergone a mystic purification.² Not inappropriate is the designation of Æsculapius as the “sun of righteousness, with healing on his wings,” for that was his description in old mythologies.³

¹ Cf. *Vestiges of Spirit-History of Man* (Dunlap), p. 37, etc. See edict of Constantine, *Corp. Jur. Civ. Codicis*, lib. iii. tit. 12; he uses the words “Sacred day of the Sun (God).”

² *Symbolic Language of Ancient Art* (Knight), p. 4.

³ One of the most remarkable edifices at Alexandria was the Serapion, or temple of Serapis. The worship of the god and patron of sailors was introduced from Sinope by Ptolemy I., doubtless not without a special object. The temple stood in the quarter Rhacotis, near the “Haven of Fortunate Return,” and art had exhausted her resources

to make it one of the most splendid on the face of the globe. It was erected on the summit of an artificial mound, raised one hundred steps above the adjacent parts of the city.

Two hundred and seventy-one years after this period (A. D. 69), Constantine made Byzantium the capital of his empire; he wished, also, to make it the literary center of the world, and his influence was thrown against Alexandria. Its museum was placed under the supervision of the clergy; and decline was the immediate result. Most of the savants left the city in consequence, and sought safety elsewhere. The Emperor Julian, however, on

In later times he was known principally in his character as Bacchus, and is now regarded as the god of wine and reveling. But in earlier days the views taken

coming into power (A. D. 361) subjected the Christians to some restrictions, and tried to induce the learned pagans to return. He succeeded in partly reviving Alexandria's now rapidly sinking institutions; but his reign was too short to produce lasting results. After his death the spirit of opposition between Christians and pagans became more bitter than ever. The temple of Serapis was the rallying-place of the latter. There was a general belief that the annual overflow of the Nile and the prosperity of Egypt depended upon the favor of this god. This restrained for a while the Christians, who were more than half-believers in the potency of Serapis, from attacking his temple; nor did the pagans neglect to make the most of this superstition to their own advantage. Several fanatics appeared upon the scene, who endeavored to maintain the worship of idols; among whom the most conspicuous were Antonius and Olympus. The former was a student of mystical philosophy, and vindicated with great zeal the worship of the heathen gods (fourth century). He was constantly attended by a crowd of young men, drawn to him by his character and eloquence. The latter is represented by Suidas as a "man of wonderful acquirements, noble na-

ture, and incredible eloquence."

On this occasion he was chosen by the adherents of the old religion in Alexandria as teacher of divinity in the temple of Serapis. Great numbers flocked to him, eager to be instructed in the religious rites and mysteries of their ancestors, for there were not wanting those who attributed the misfortunes of the times to the neglect of the worship of the gods.

While these things were going on in Alexandria several imperial edicts were proclaimed throughout the empire ordering the destruction of the heathen temples. Theophilus was at this time (A. D. 386) the Christian archbishop of the city. He is characterized as the "perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and blood." With the assistance of the imperial governor and soldiers he made an attack on the pagans, who, under the leadership of Olympus, had provisioned and fortified themselves in the temple of Serapis. A formal siege was begun, and unheard-of cruelties were perpetrated, in which the pagans, may be, outdid, if possible, their opponents. In the year 389 A. D. an armistice was entered into for the purpose of awaiting the imperial mandate, which was to decide the fate of the temple.

were different; yet the change was not without reason. "The Prince of Life" is the giver of health; the Agathodæmon and the "Cup of Blessings," wreathed

When the rescript for the destruction of the idols in Alexandria was received, the pagans, to avoid the fury of the Christians, hastily took flight. The latter, with loud shouts of exultation, proceeded anew with the work of destruction. The god was broken in pieces, the works of art destroyed, the building sacked, and only the strength of its walls bade defiance to the zeal of the besiegers. The building was afterward repaired and converted into a monastery. We shall probably never know what works of art perished here; but we do know that the splendid library of three hundred thousand volumes was scattered and destroyed. This was the end of the great library of Pergamus and the initiation of a régime which ignored learning as a basis of evil, and the decline of Alexandria began, and its destruction completed, under a religion based upon ignorance, superstition, and fraud, unparalleled in the record of religious fervor; and under the same disgraceful régime sank all the cities of the East. The glory of the East was doomed. Christianity possessed but one quality upon which its perpetuity could depend, and that was brute force, and well its masters for ten centuries have wielded this power.

The tragic death of Hypatia, A. D. 415 (*cf.* Tillemont's *Memoirs*; also

Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia*), is an episode in the literary history of Alexandria that must not be omitted from the few scattered notices we possess of its library and museum. This event, the memory of which genius has rendered imperishable in painting and story, gives us an insight into one of the most unfortunate periods of the world's history, and shows us what a precarious lease of life the literature of antiquity had in the hands of those who were day by day rising into power. And it is painful to recall that our own age is not entirely devoid of the same intolerant spirit. Hypatia was the daughter of the last-mentioned member of the Alexandrian museum, the celebrated philosopher, stoic, and mathematician, Theon; she was one of the most accomplished women known to history, her father's only child, and early manifested deep interest in philosophical and mathematical studies. He instructed her with the greatest care. During her stay at Athens, which was still a noted seat of Greek culture, she became a convert to the third Neo-Platonic school, which was then striving to unite the dogmas of Plato and Aristotle for the purpose of stemming the current of that religion which was confessedly and boastfully without learning, without a philosophy, and without

by serpents, were alike symbols of both. The fact has been remarked that there was a common knowledge which the Æsculapian initiates were free to disseminate,

a morality, based entirely upon the passions and emotions of men. Upon her return to Alexandria she became a teacher, where her eloquence and wisdom, her youthful beauty, and modesty awakened such enthusiasm that her lecture-room could scarcely contain her eager disciples, whilst the first families of the city sought her friendship.

This philosophy was particularly obnoxious to the ignorant Christians. Its intellectual appeals rendered it the mightiest opponent to the new religion. Hypatia, in so great favor with the learned and influential of Alexandria, was the thorn in the flesh of the zealous and fiery Cyril, who happened to be just then at enmity with Orestes, the governor of the city. About this time a certain Hierax, a noted teacher among the Christians, was murdered, and the murderer could not be found. Gradually a report spread through the city that the female philosopher, by her secret influence, prevented a reconciliation between the governor and the bishop, and that she was probably the cause of her opponent's death by means of bribed bandits. One day during Lent a crowd of fanatics, under the head of a certain reader named Peter, collected around her dwelling. She was not at home, but soon appeared, sitting in her

chariot. The crowd, who had murder in their hearts, ran to meet her, forced her to descend, stripped her naked in the street, dragged her into a church, and literally tore her in pieces. Her quivering limbs were trailed through the streets by these monsters and finally thrown into a fire. No one, even among Christians then or now, doubts the holy Cyril's connivance at this deed. The investigation of the riot was discontinued by the timely interposition of gifts. This event took place about the year A. D. 415.—*National Quarterly*, December, 1875; *History of the Conflict of Religion and Science* (Draper), p. 55 (Appleton, 1875); *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, by H. P. Blavatsky, vol. ii. p. 336.

The worst feature of this whole transaction is probably that some Christian writers have defended her character with enigmatic praise, and intimate that her death was caused by a mob of infuriated citizens and not Christians, and that there may have been some apparent justification for the violence committed upon her. This damnable method of warping history and creating public opinion is purely Christian. She was clubbed to death by Christian monks.—Draper's *Conflict*, p. 55.

as Hippocrates did; and an esoteric wisdom which must not be communicated.¹

While the most violent revolutionary movements were transpiring in Rome, matters were daily growing worse in the Judean capital. Vespasian, who had been sent by Nero (A. D. 66) to quell these disturbances, had remained an idle spectator to the Judean insurrection, as if to demonstrate to the world the utter unfitness of the Jews to govern themselves. Not so indifferent, however, was he to affairs at Rome; for no

¹ "There can be no doubt," says C. W. King, M. A., in *The Gnostics and their Remains, Ancient and Medieval*, p. 68, "that the head of Serapis, marked, as the face is, by a grave and pensive majesty, supplied the first idea for the conventional portrait of the Saviour." Eusebius and Athanasius state that when Joseph and Mary arrived in Egypt they took up their abode in the city of Thebais, in which was a superb temple of Serapis. On their going into the temple all the statues fell flat on their faces to the infant Saviour. This story is also told by the *Evangelium Infantie*. Adrian supposes that the Christian worship of Egypt was the worship of Serapis (*Isis Unveiled*, vol. ii. p. 336). It may be collected from the many disputes that no certain image and representation of the form and features of Christ has been handed down by tradition. There is also much weight in the remark that the most ancient effigies are stamped with a Greek or Roman character both in physiognomy and costume, without any trace of the Arabian or Israelite

style. Thus, before the Byzantine style fixed *à la Grèque* the face and costume of Jesus, the paintings of the Roman Catacombs gave him a Roman face and clothed him with the toga and the pallium. Dating from these productions, there have been two principal types,—the type of the Western church and the type of the Eastern, varied to infinity by degrees of civilization, by race, by manners, and by clime. "The Greeks," says Photus, "think that he became a man after their image; the Romans, that he had the features of a Roman; the Indians, that of an Indian; the Ethiopians made him black." The manner in which sacred subjects have been travestied is amusing and absurd. Rembrandt in one of his pictures painted Abraham a burgess of his time, and the Messiah a burgomaster of Saardam. In old paintings of the fall of Adam we find the forbidden fruit varying according to the country. In Normandy it was the classic apple, in Burgundy a bunch of grapes, in Portugal the fig and orange, and in America the guava.

sooner had he heard of the death of Nero, than he felt a sudden aspiration higher than quietly watching two factions of miserable Jews destroy each other. His army proclaimed him emperor, and he immediately set out for Rome by the way of Alexandria. Before he reached Alexandria, however, his claims had been advocated by the philosophers, Dion, Euphrates, and Apollonius,¹ who had been useful to him in their efforts to secure the allegiance of the Egyptians. Tiberius Alexander, prefect of Egypt, appointed by Nero, was the first to proclaim in favor of Vespasian,² and Apollonius was also wholly devoted to his service,³ for which the emperor repaid him by flattery as well as by more tangible favors.⁴ As Vespasian approached

¹ Apollonius was the most celebrated of these philosophers. He was one of the first who gained eminence from the study of Eastern philosophy, which was then rising in the opinion of the Greeks. He was master of the fabled wisdom of the magi of Babylon, and of the gymnosophists of India, and he had come to Egypt to compare this mystic philosophy with that of the hermits of Ethiopia and the Thebais. By the Egyptians he was looked upon as the favored of heaven. He claimed the power of working miracles by his magical arts, and of foretelling events by his knowledge of astrology. And if we could believe the wonderful stories told of him by his biographer, we would not wonder at Hierocles and other pagans comparing his miracles to those of Jesus. So easy was the working of miracles,

and of so little consequence was this accomplishment, that his pretensions were not at all doubted by even those who had the good sense to detect the fallacy of his philosophy; and by the author of the *Book of Revelation*, when Vespasian is called the beast, Apollonius is called the false prophet who wrought miracles in the presence of the beast.—*History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Conquest by the Arabs* (A. D. 640), by Samuel Sharp, 2 vols. (1859).

² Sharp's *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 136.

³ Cf. *Tacitus*; also *Time and Faith*, vol. ii. p. 349, etc.

⁴ Vespasian made use of them in furthering his political plans.—*Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges* (Chassang), p. 247; *Tacitus, History*, lib. iv. p. 60; *Eusebius against Hierocles*, lib. v. p. 168.

the gates of Alexandria, the sacred order of priesthood, the civil magistrates, the deputies from the prefectures, and the philosophers and sages all went out to meet him.¹ But no part of the pompous procession engaged the attention of Apollonius, who was teaching philosophy in the temple at the time; he did not even leave his school to wait upon the emperor. Vespasian received the delegation with a short speech, which was at once gracious and benign, and, looking about him, inquired after the Tyanean.² Damis informed him that Apollonius was in the temple. "Then," replied he, "thither I will repair, that I may offer my prayers to the gods and converse with the Tyanean." After the accustomed sacrifices for the past preservation and future welfare of the emperor were performed, and the deputies of the various cities represented at Alexandria recognized and addressed, Vespasian turned to Apollonius and said: "To you, Apollonius, more than any other man, am I indebted for my present success. I know your participation in the present revolution, and to you I shall look for advice."³ "The empire," replied Apollonius, "has long been in a disturbed and unsettled state; security of the person or estate, the inherent right of every Roman citizen, has engrossed but little attention from the masters of the Roman people,—they have rather regarded them as their legal prey." "What think you," asked Vespasian, "of the

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 209.

² *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane*, par Le Grand D'Aussy, vol. ii. p. 118.

³ John Henry Newman, D. D., says that "Apollonius was found

here, as in many other instances, to be the mere tool of political factions."—*History of the Christian Church in the First Century*, vol. i. p. 345. That is a most unwarrantable and undeserving charge.

government of Nero?" Apollonius replied that "Nero had disgraced his authority by merciless rigor, and then rendered himself doubly culpable by criminal remissness; that flagrant acts of licentiousness had become a part of the administration, and had perverted the authority and demoralized the dignity of the state; the most abominable lusts, the most extravagant luxury, the most shameful rapaciousness, and the most inhuman cruelty constitute the general characteristics of this detestable tyrant,—all of which have entered into his methods in the administration of public affairs. With no settled policy, he has swayed from childish indulgence to implacable revenge." "Then you think," said Vespasian, "that an emperor should observe the golden mean in the government of an empire?" "An emperor should at all times," replied Apollonius, "be equitable—that equity defined by the gods." "Grant, O Jupiter," said Vespasian, raising his eyes, "that I may govern and be governed equitably and wisely." And, turning to the Egyptian delegates, he said, "Draw from me as you draw from the Nile."² And then addressing Apollonius in an undertone, "In my present understanding I wish to act under the guidance of the gods, and on you I chiefly found my hopes of success, as I know you are well versed in all knowledge relating to things divine, and for that reason I make you my friend and counselor. And if omens favorable to my cause are given from the gods, I will go on; if they are not propitious to me and the Roman people, I will stop where I am, for I care not to engage in any enterprise unsanctioned by heaven."

¹ Suetonius, *Nero*.

² *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 260.

After this conversation Apollonius, like one inspired, said, "O Jupiter Capitolinus,¹ who art supreme judge and director in the present crisis of affairs, keep thyself for Vespasian and Vespasian for thee."² And then, turning to the emperor, he said: "Remember that the virtue of a nation depends more upon the managers of it than upon the individuals who compose it. Men, from the most barbarous ages to the present time, have ever been composed of the same numerical clay; law and cultivation have made the distinction among them. That proverb of villainy and lawlessness, Nero, was the victim of a set of surroundings which he had inherited; and as the manners of men are almost invariably modified by the nearest patterns, so it had been with him. The original source of national virtue or vice can be traced to the throne whence in rivulets it flows through all of the inferior channels of the body politic. The rulers are they who carry the great burden of Atlas upon their shoulders, and upon them fall heavier penalties of misconduct than upon the ruled. If, after thoroughly weighing the matter, you still feel like accepting this great charge, go on with the work which you have so nobly begun. The temple burnt in Rome yesterday by impious hands 'the fates' have made it your duty to restore." Ves-

¹ Jupiter was worshiped under three hundred names, but he is the same in all — Jupiter Pluvius, Fulgurator, Tonans, Fulminator, Imbricator, Serenator, Juvictus, Stator, Predator, Triumphator, Victor, Optimus, Maximus, Imperator, Urbis Custos, etc.— Cf. *Chronicum Alex-*

andrinum a Radero (Editum Munahii, anno 1615).

² *Tacitus*, book iii. c. 69, 70; A. W. Crainer, *Flavius Vespasianus Heinierod* (1785); *Flavius Vespasiani Imperatoris Vita* (1833); *Histoire des Empereurs* (Tillemont); Lenormant, *An. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 197.

pasian was amazed at this, for as yet no intelligence had been received from Rome of this burning of the temple, which took place as follows: Domitian, son of Vespasian, was up in arms against Vitellius in defense of his father's authority. The youth was besieged in the capital, and in making his escape from the besiegers the temple was burnt,—the account of which reached Apollonius before it did any other man in Egypt.

The next morning Apollonius introduced Dion and Euphrates to the emperor, assuring him that they were friends attached to his interests, and not unmindful of the critical position of state affairs at present.

But the emperor kept Apollonius always by his side during his stay in Egypt, and he acknowledged his rank as a prophet. With this intimacy between Vespasian and Apollonius begins the use of gnostic emblems on Alexandrian coins.¹

¹ *Eusebius against Hierocles.* The coins struck at Alexandria, that is, Roman coins, during the empire, are more complete in the cabinets of collectors than of any other Roman province. They are not very important in themselves as historical factors, but as confirmatory evidence they are invaluable. The general type of all Alexandrian coins was: Egyptian games, Overflow of the Nile, and the Worship of Serapis. There was a bronze coin of Augustus (A. V. G.), and one of his wife Livia. There were also bronze coins of Caius and Lucius (C. L. CAESS.), sons of Marcus Agrippa. The Alexandrian coins of Tiberius (TI.) were in bronze and

base metal, and were very numerous. Of Claudius (TI. CLAUD. CAESAR. AVG. PM. TRP.), they were of bronze, copper, and base metal, sometimes associated with his wife, Messalina, and at others with Agrippina. The coins of Nero (NER.) were of copper, bronze, and base metal, on which he was sometimes associated with Agrippina, his mother, facing each other. There were some base-metal coins of Octavia, Nero's wife, and some of Poppæa with Nero.

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius were all represented on Alexandrian coins.

Vespasian (VESP.) began a new era in Alexandrian coinage, and there were many of his, some with

Vespasian was proclaimed emperor, A. D. 69, being sixty years of age. He had before served as proconsul in Egypt (A. D. 60), and military tribune in Thrace; quæster of Crete, afterward prætor. As Apollonius subsequently went up to the temple of Serapis to worship, a peculiar beauty shone in his face, and the words he uttered on all subjects were divine and framed in wisdom. He approved not of shedding the blood of bulls, nor of goats, nor of other animals, for the sacrifices of such animals he thought unbecoming the feasts of the gods, and he pronounced all such misuse of the sacred temple, profanity. When the patriarch¹ asked "why he did not sacrifice," "I would rather," said Apollonius, "ask you what your motive is in doing so." To this the patriarch said: "And who is

his son Titus in bronze and copper, others with Domatilla, his wife, in the same metals. The coins of Titus (T. or T. CAES. DIVI. VESP. F. AVG.) were few, and were in bronze and copper, as also were those of Domitian (DOM. or DOMIT.) There was an Egyptian bronze coin with Domitian associated with Domitia, his wife. All the coins of Nerva (NER.) struck at Alexandria were of base metal. Tiberius, in the tenth year of his reign (A. D. 24), closed the Alexandrian mint, after which period we find no new issues of Egyptian coins. They were again allowed to coin under Claudius, A. D. 41. And now begins the richest Egyptian series. Every coin is dated with the year of Claudius's reign, while the finest of all Egyptian coinages in execution and va-

riety was during the reign of Domitian (A. D. 92). Of the reign of Nerva, the coinage is the only trace of his having ruled in Egypt.

On the ascension of Vespasian, the Egyptians were very much puzzled by the word "*Freedom*" struck on the Roman coins sent for circulation among them by their foreign masters, but were very much pleased when they found it accompanied with a redress of their grievances.

There were a few coins struck by the Alexandrian mint in his name, Vespasian, with the figure of Victory.—*History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest by the Arabs*, A. D. 640, by Samuel Sharpe, vol. ii. p. 135.

¹ The name given to the high-priest of Serapis, hence Pope.—See *Encyc. Brit.*, vol. xviii. p. 410.

wise enough to reform the established worship of the Egyptians?" "Every sage," replied Apollonius, "who comes filled with the wisdom of the Indians." "This day," said the patriarch, "I will burn an ox which has been found 'without spot or blemish,' and I wish you to participate of its odor; and I think you will not disapprove of it if the gods show no displeasure, for it has been sealed with the 'holy wafer' by the sphragistæ," *σφραγιστῆς* (priests who were sealers).¹

"Can you imagine," said Apollonius, "that the fire proceeding from burning pine or cedar possesses prophetic quality, and is capable of foretelling events? Why not reverence the Nile, the common cup of Egypt, or form your prognostics on the rising sun?—source of innumerable blessings to humanity, and to none more than the Egyptian."

Many months' conference were had and much good advice Vespasian received from Apollonius in this critical juncture of the affairs of the empire. For it was undoubtedly true that although Vespasian had wrested an empire from his competitors, Otho and Vitellius, it was a shattered and bankrupt tenancy; the revenue which had been impaired by Caius and the Claudian freedmen, was plunged by Nero into deeper insolvency, the army was demoralized, the senate was helpless, some of the fairest provinces had been ravaged, two of the noblest cities in Italy were charred heaps, the coasts were swept by pirates, and the capital a ruin. Such was the condition of Rome when Vespasian ascended the throne.

From Alexandria Vespasian had already sent back his son Titus, who had acquired fame in Gaul, to Judea

¹ *Isis and Osiris* in Plutarch's *Morals*, vol. iv. p. 89.

to finish the siege of Jerusalem. The Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, was in Alexandria in the service of Vespasian, having been taken prisoner by him. He was promised his freedom on condition of betraying his country's cause.¹ He accepted the offer, joined the army of Titus, and marched to Jerusalem to overthrow the temple in which his forefathers as high-priests had earned the only fame associated with the name of Josephus. Its overthrow was accomplished the next year, A. D. 70.² In considering his future plan of conduct, Vespasian wished everything to turn out for the public good, and in an interview with Apollonius resumed a former conversation, now, however, in the presence of Dion and Euphrates, concerning the former emperors of Rome.

In considering the character of Tiberius, they agreed that he had come into power under a free government, and that he had willfully and wickedly perverted it to a cruel tyranny. And when he called to mind Caligula, who succeeded him, he was but a panorama of crime. Instead of devoting his life to the advancement of the empire, his life was spent under the dominion of the most unbridled passion, who, clothed after the fashion of the Lydians, died victorious in wars which never existed, and defiled the empire by bacchanalian insanity. He had debauched and lived in open incest with his sisters, ordered the wife of Caius Piso on the night of her marriage to be carried to his own house, and

¹ Josephus wrote *Antiquities of the Jews* to A. D. 66. He bears no testimony to Christ or Christians.

² Samuel Sharpe, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 141. Neither Jerusalem

nor its temple has been destroyed. The temple exists to-day, and the walls of the city are still there.—*History of the Israelites and Judeans*, 2 vols. (London), vol. ii. p. 334.

afterward banished her. How he bestowed his affections upon Cæsonia, who was a wanton of unbounded lasciviousness, and whom he exhibited naked to his friends.¹ But it is disgusting to relate the infamous doings of this monster. And as to the good man Claudius, he had no time to attend to affairs of state, for in attending to his women he became stupefied, and forgot both the empire and himself, and died, as was reported, by their hands.

"And Nero," said Vespasian, "of whom we have spoken on a former occasion, defiled and debauched the empire. And Galba,² murdered in the Forum after having adopted Otho and Piso,³ both sons of common prostitutes, as participators, promised no improvement in the affairs of the empire."

"And as for my part," further said Vespasian, "if the empire is to be conceded to such a man as Vitellius, the most abominable of all his predecessors, I think it were better that Nero should be restored to us. Taking then into further consideration, my friends," continued Vespasian, "the several kinds of tyranny which have disgraced the state, and to avoid the gulf into which my predecessors have fallen, I appoint you my counselors to advise what are the proper means for meliorating a government so deservedly odious."⁴

"In the selection of your counselors," said Apollonius, "you put me in mind of a great musician, a man of much celebrity in his profession, who used to keep a

¹ *Suetonius Caligula*, xxv. (Bohn ed., p. 268). See, also, Berwick's *Life of Apollonius*, p. 282.

² *Hist. Gemälde: Galba*, etc. (F. Horn).

³ Cneius Piso was prefect of Syria, and was murdered by Germanicus.

⁴ *Apollonius de Tyane*, etc. (Chas-sang), p. 214, *et seq.*

corps of the most unskillful performers always in his employ that he might learn to play from them by contrast." After this they separated.¹ Apollonius had in the mean time performed many miracles in Egypt, some under the very eye of Vespasian, which endeared the emperor to him, but in consequence of which Euphrates had begun to entertain a secret jealousy of Apollonius. They all being votaries to the shrine of a favorite oracle, and incensed at this imaginary preference, Euphrates became boisterous and undignified in his voice and demeanor. In answer to some remarks of Euphrates, which were personal and insulting in the extreme to Apollonius, and in which he also advised Vespasian to surrender his power to the people, Apollonius said, "You seem to me to err in your endeavors to make the emperor waver in a matter on which he has fully determined in his heart. The emperor is possessed of great power, and it should be our province as philosophers rather to school him to use it discreetly and with moderation than to relinquish it. He is also vested with full consular authority, has long filled the highest offices, and a show of weakness at the present crisis by a surrender of any acquired advantage, or a hesitancy in the course he has determined upon, would certainly prove fatal to him and the empire. Let us, therefore, out of consideration to the character of the man, the number of his troops, their excellent discipline, and the wisdom by which he has formed all his plans,—let us rather encourage his good determination and genius, and pray for good omens and all things else which may insure success. It lies within his power to give the

¹ *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane*, par le Grand D'Aussy, vol. ii. p. 125.

empire a respite from its past thralldom of blood and lawlessness. He is, moreover, the father of two sons who, according to report, are men of good disposition, Titus and Domitian, both of whom would become his bitterest enemies, were they not sure of receiving the empire at his death. They may by a proper conduct on his part be held as natural guardians of his throne, and not mercenaries forced into allegiance. And this proper conduct on his part may be induced through the enthusiasm displayed by us in his cause, for in us he has implicit faith. It is of little consequence to me what form of government is established; I live under that of the gods;¹ and yet I have always taken great interest and no small hazard in my efforts to sustain popular government. I resisted the power of Nero whilst under the most unjust accusation, and I opposed the infamous Tigellinus to his beard. The assistance I gave to Vindex in Spain was a blow aimed at the tyranny of Nero. But on no account do I claim that I put down the tyrant. I only acted the character becoming a philosopher.”²

To a question asked by Vespasian, he said, “You, O Emperor, will make better use of your riches and your power if you use them in protecting the rights and supplying the necessities of the poor, and in giving greater security to the property of the rich, than any former sovereign. Do not lop away such ears of corn as are tall

¹ For since Cappadocia had become a Roman province Apollonius, in common with other Greeks of noble descent, had taken but little interest in the affairs of state. They felt themselves degraded by the

brute force of the uncultured Roman, and looked forward to emancipation.

² Arrian, *Epictetus, seu Commentarii Disputatione Epicteti* (Lugduni, 1600).

and most conspicuous, for herein the maxim of Aristotle is unjust, but do you preserve them as allies. In what concerns the public, act like a prince; in what relates to yourself, as you please. Show yourself terrible to all innovators in the politics or government of the state, yet not so much in punishment as a preparation for vengeance. Acknowledge the law of the land to be the supreme rule of your conduct, for you will be more mild in making laws when you know that you are to be subject to them yourself. Reverence the gods more than ever, for you have received great things at their hands and have still much to ask. I need not speak to you of wine, women, and gambling vices to which you were never addicted. You have two sons; keep them, I pray you, under discipline; let them understand that the empire is to be a reward for virtue and not a matter of common rights. I have but one more word to say. In the selection of your governors for the provinces, select them from the people over whom they are sent to rule, and who thoroughly understand the language. Send Greeks to Greece. Whilst I was in Peloponnesus I called upon the governor, who knew nothing of Greek, and the people knew nothing of him and cared less. Hence arose innumerable discords." On the closing of this discourse Vespasian thanked Apollonius, and commended him greatly upon his wisdom. And Euphrates, who was an eminent philosopher (on the authority of Pliny,¹ Epictetus, Eunapius, and Eusebius), but an atheist, rose and said: "I agree with everything the master has spoken. But, O King! approve and countenance that philosophy which is consonant to nature,

¹ *Brücker*, vol. ii. p. 566.

and shun that which affects to carry on a secret intercourse with celestial beings. There can be but little use in your appealing to the gods, who heretofore have had quite as much as they could do to take care of themselves, and who at best have rendered but little service to Rome which may be accounted for good." The emperor here gently interposed and Euphrates retired.

Dion said a few words in advice; the emperor again thanked them, and the conference ended.¹

After the proper sacrifices had been performed the emperor gave Apollonius leave publicly to ask what present he chose. Apollonius, pretending to have a disposition to make full use of the permission, said, "And what presents do you mean to give me, O King?" "Ten talents at this time" said the emperor, "and all I have when you come to Rome." "Then," said Apollonius, "I will be as careful with what you now have as if it were my own, and shall not be prodigal of what must some day be mine. For the present, O Emperor! I request that you may attend to my companions, who probably will not despise your gifts." Whereupon Vespasian bade both Euphrates and Dion ask boldly what they wished. On hearing this Dion blushed and said, "Reconcile me to my master for the contradiction I offered him yesterday." The emperor

¹ Dion was an amiable and affable man, deserving to be loved for the pleasantries of his discourse, which flowed like the perfumes of a sacrifice. But Vespasian loved Apollonius, had great delight in hearing him talk of what antiquities he saw

in his travels, of the Indian Phraotes, of the rivers and wild beasts and products of India, and its immense resources; and above all, when he prophesied the future greatness of the Roman world as communicated by the gods.

praised him and said, "I asked and received on your behalf the reconciliation yesterday ; now demand whatever you please." To which Dion replied, "Lasthenes of Apamea, a town in Bithynia, formerly studied philosophy with me ; he afterward became enamored of military life, and joined the forces now at Jerusalem under Titus ; he now wishes to return to his philosophical pursuits, and my request is that he may get his discharge." The moment the emperor heard this he ordered his discharge with the full pay of *emeriti*. The emperor now turned to Euphrates, who had put his request in writing, which he gave to the emperor to read when alone ; but Vespasian, anxious to give Apollonius and all present an opportunity of canvassing it, read it aloud. It appeared from the memorial that Euphrates made several requests, of which some were relative to himself and some to other people ; but all had money in them, either directly or indirectly, for their object. Apollonius only smiled and said, "And how came you, Euphrates, to speak so much in favor of a republican form of government who had so much to ask for from a monarch?" This seems to have been the major cause of the difference subsisting between Apollonius and Euphrates. As soon as affairs at Alexandria were settled, Vespasian determined on taking his departure. But before he did so, he expressed a wish that Apollonius should accompany him to Rome. This he begged to decline, inasmuch as he had not seen Egypt as he desired, and more especially as he was disinclined to enter upon a career of political activity in any form, and announced himself as having no interest in the empire, but lived under the rule of the gods ;

exacting but one promise from Vespasian, that as Rome was happily now at peace, he should use his utmost endeavor to maintain it. And in furtherance of this idea Vespasian, on coming into power, expended large sums on public improvements, rebuilt the capital destroyed by Nero, erected a temple to Peace,¹ and a new Forum. He patronized learning and learned men, made grants of money to professors, and soon united all suffrages under him. His son Titus took command of the army of the East, and by him Jerusalem was invested and razed (A. D. 70).² That a rupture had afterward taken place between the emperor and Apollonius is evident, the cause of which appears to have been as follows: after the above related interviews Apollonius discontinued his visits to the emperor, though often invited and written to for that purpose. "Nero," said Apollonius, "had given liberty to Greece,"³ and performed a work more glorious than might have been expected of him from the general texture of his character; the consequence of which was, the towns and cities of Greece flourished and resumed their ancient

¹ This was esteemed the finest temple of all Rome. Here were lodged the spoils that were brought from the temple of Jerusalem, and it afterward abounded with an infinity of other riches. This temple, we are told by Josephus, who was in Rome at that time, was built immediately after the taking of Jerusalem, when the Roman Empire had put an end to all their wars, and enjoyed peace on every side. The temple is said to have been nearly two hundred feet in breadth and

three hundred in length, and lined on the inside throughout with brass plates. One of its noble pillars now stands before the church of Saint Maria Maggiore. There is a group of figures at the Farnese palace which was cut from the lower part of one of the pillars.

² Tacitus, *Hist.*, b. v. xxi. p. 5.

³ Freedom to govern themselves, and their cities, free cities.—Bewick's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 296; also, *Vita Neronis* (Tillemont, 1782).

Doric and Attic manners; to which may be added that a harmony sprang up among them unknown even in their best days, and they felt little oppression under the Roman yoke. Of this liberty, which produced such good results, Vespasian deprived them, under the pretense that some disturbance or other had taken place.¹ Apollonius believed that the offense did not warrant such a mark of displeasure, which drew from him the following letter:

“*Apollonius to the Emperor Vespasian.*

“ ‘Health — You have enslaved Greece, as fame says, by which you imagine that you have done more than Xerxes, without calling to mind that you have sunk below Nero. Farewell.’ ”²

Apollonius, being a Greek, was tenacious of the fame and liberties of Greece, and had little concern for the Roman empire.³ Vespasian was unequal to the great task of restitution; to supply his coffers, he sold offices to candidates and pardons to criminals; prefectorates to the highest bidder, and “gorged the games”; he became a financial huckster,⁴ rather than an economist; he impoverished senators and consuls. These were the charges preferred against him by Apollonius. Nero was no orator or poet, but he was by no means insensible to eloquence and art. Of these personal attainments, Vespasian was entirely devoid. Had he made verses, for which he had too much good sense,

¹ *Pausanias*, vol. ii. p. 212.

toriarum, græce et lat., etc. (H.

² *Apollonius de Tyane*, etc., par Stephanus, 1592), p. 62, *et seq.*

Chassang, p. 226.

⁴ Suetonius, *Les douze Césars*:

³ *Appiani Alexandrini rom. Hlis-* Vespasien.

they would have been worse than Nero's, and his eloquence, unsupported by his thirty legions, would not have gained him a single vote in the senate or a single cause in the courts. But he was a brave man, and a successful general; he had tamed the fierce Celts of Britain, and the fiercer rabble of Judea; he could not inaugurate revolutions, nor direct their course, but he could stand and battle the whirlwind without flinching; and when it had subsided, he impersonated a compromise of either a glorious or an inglorious peace. Before Vespasian left Egypt, the Alexandrians gave him the nickname of Cybrosactes, the scullion, on account of his stinginess and greediness.¹

Apollonius now determined to go up the Nile, not, however, until he had paid his respects to Ælius Promotes, an Egyptian physician, who wrote in Greek. He had invited Apollonius to become his guest. After an interchange of courtesies with Promotes, he set out for Upper Egypt, accompanied by the celebrated stoic

¹ There are many coins of Vespasian confirming nearly every important act of his life. There are no less than thirteen Roman coins commemorating the capture of Jerusalem. They are quite similar; all have the effigy of Vespasian, and the obverse, Judea, represented by a female sitting upon the ground behind a palm-tree, weeping; sometimes accompanied by Victory, standing.—Cf. Humphrey's *Coin Collector's Manual*, p. 328.

Some of the coins of Vespasian represent him with his son Titus and Domitian; some bear date at

Antioch, in Syria. They are of gold, copper, and bronze. He is represented on some with his wife Flavia Domitilla, and with her daughter Domitilla.—*Imperatorum Romanorum numismata, a Pompejo M ad Heraclium ab A Occone olim congesta*, etc. (1683, F. Mediobarbi Biragi), p. 220.

There was a coin struck at Rome, commemorating the completion of the temple of Peace. All of the coins attributed to the mother of Vespasian are false.—*Observationes et Conjecturae in numismata quædam antiqua παρρησιον* (L. Begeri, 1691).

philosopher, Euphrates, an Egyptian or Syrian by birth, whom we have before mentioned, and of whom we know but little. He was troubled with an incurable disease, and afterward sought and obtained permission from Hadrian to commit suicide (A. D. 121). Pliny has mentioned him, and given him a good name. Epictetus spoke of him, admired his eloquence, and commended him for his many virtues. Eunapius also refers to him by name. Euphrates did not like Apollonius. The cause of the difference seems to have been the assumption of sacred honors by Apollonius. He did not believe in divine inspiration, and consequently thought Apollonius guilty of deceit; and he neglected no opportunity to cast ridicule upon the apologists of divine interposition in the affairs of man.¹

So long as the emperor remained in Egypt, Euphrates refrained from giving expression to his dislike; but after the emperor's departure he gave full vent to his passion, without sparing reproaches, and on one occasion threatened him with a billet of wood. Apollonius conducted himself like a philosopher, and answered all that he said with the coolest reason. Eusebius has made some just remarks upon the difference between Apollonius and Euphrates. He considers the latter a very celebrated philosopher. Euphrates wrote some books against the Tyanean, which Philostratus promised to refute; no such refutation has reached our day. The company of Apollonius consisted of thirty followers, pupils, or disciples, or persons desirous of benefiting by his addresses or discourses. Menippus, one of the

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 225; also, *Apologie pour les Grands Hommes soupçonnés de Magie*, par G. Naudé, p. 175.

number, who had just completed his term of silence and was now entitled to address others, was left behind. Dioscorides, whose constitution was unable to bear the fatigues and exposures of a long journey, was advised by Apollonius not to go. He then assembled the rest; for though many had deserted at Arica, where he stopped on his way to Rome in Nero's time, many had joined him since, with whom he talked of the journey he was about to take in the following manner:

"I think it right, my friends, to use an Olympic exodium with you. The people of Elis, on the approach of the Olympic games, exercise their athletes, for the space of thirty days, in their own town. The people of Delphi and Corinth, at the celebration of their games, address all those who are to contend at them in this manner: 'Enter the stadium, and show yourselves men worthy of victory.' The Eleans, when they come to Olympia, thus address the athletes: 'You who have endured labors fit for the palæstra who have come to Olympia, having never manifested physical or mental impotency, go on bravely. If otherwise, retire.'" After this address, twenty of his disciples determined to remain behind with Menippus, at Alexandria, and await his return, among whom was Euphrates. The remaining ten sacrificed to the gods for a good journey, and set out for the pyramids, mounted on camels, with the Nile and the great Maoris on the right. They sometimes traveled in boats, that they might see everything worthy of notice. The vessel in which they sailed was not unlike the sacred galley of legation.¹

¹ Θεωρετή, the name given to the ship in which the Athenians made their annual procession to Delos.

No city, temple, or sacred spot on the Nile was passed unobserved. They arrived at Sais, ancient capital of Lower Egypt,¹ on the day of the celebration of the festival of Neith,²—Apollonius says Minerva,³ from the similarity of the rites. Neith was the goddess of the lower heavens; the inventress and deity of weaving; her emblem was the shuttle; she was also called “Mother of the Sun” and “Mistress of Heaven.”⁴ Her temple, the largest in all Egypt, was the palace, or citadel, and stood upon a plot of ground four stadia (one-half mile) square, surrounded by a wall fifty feet thick, in the middle of which stood the temple. Solon visited this temple, and the priests honored him with an interview. They told him the story of Atlantis, which was submerged nine thousand years before his time. (See Plato’s *Critias*.) Apollonius also visited the temple of Ammon-Ra, sometimes Horus, sacred to the sun or deity of midday, the soul of the world. Ra was considered the most striking manifestation of the great god Pthah, incarnation of Apis; his statue in this temple was with the head of a sparrow-hawk.⁵ His greatest temple was at Memphis. Here was also the temple dedicated to the worship of the bull Ammon-Ehi, called by the Greeks Mnevis. He was the rival of the great bull Apis, worshiped with such magnificence at Memphis.⁶

The festival of Neith,⁷ or Minerva, at Sais was

¹ *Letters of Lepsius* (Bohn ed., 1853), p. 43.

² *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. i. p. 492; *History of Ancient Egypt*, by Geo. Rawlinson, M. A., vol. i. p. 357.

³ See *Herodotus*, ii. 168.

⁴ *Archaic Dictionary*, Neith.

⁵ *Archaic Dictionary*, Pthah; *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne* (Lenormant), vol. i. p. 356.

⁶ *Diodorus Siculus*, i. xvi. p. 20.

⁷ Νεῖωςπις, Erastosthenes interprets Minerva victorious.

observed in an illumination of the city. On a particular night all who intended to participate in the fête were required to light a number of lamps in the open air around their dwellings.¹ And it was considered of the greatest consequence to do honor to the deity by a proper and unstinted performance of this rite. Apollonius spent much of his time in this temple, from which he copied the following inscription: "I am that which has been, is, and will be, and no one of mortals has lifted my robe. The fruit which I brought forth became the sun."² Every fourth year the festival of Minerva was attended by all Egypt.³ The Nile for several days was overspread with barges decked with every conceivable ornament and device; each barge had its musicians and dancers. The banks of the river were crowded on either side as the great procession of barges passed; scurrilous and obscene jests were indulged in, between the worshipers and spectators.⁴ The women who were upon the water conducted themselves in a manner too immodest to be described.⁵ On

¹ Τῇ ἑρπῇ σὺνομιὰ κέεταυ Ἀγγον-
καίμ. The festival of lamp burning.

² Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*,
2 vols. (London, 1844), vol. i. p.
275; Pliny, *Nat. History*, b. x. p.
258; *The Geography of Herodotus*,
by Talboys Wheeler, F. R. G. S.,
p. 374; *Geschichte Aegyptens* (Wei-
demann), p. 155.

³ Aphrodite, Hera, Juno, Mylitta,
were all the same.

⁴ *Hist. Ancient Egypt* (Rawlin-
son), vol. i. p. 434.

⁵ But the pagans were not alone
culpable for disgraceful religious

festivals, for as late as the begin-
ning of the fifth century we learn
from Buchardus, that on the most
sacred of Christian commemoration
days in Africa, dancing was prac-
ticed in the open streets of a most
infamous character, accompanied
with lascivious language and ges-
tures, to the utter disgust of all re-
spectable citizens, and accompanied
by prostitution. These vile cere-
monies were not confined to the
lower orders of the Christians, for
the clergy themselves took part in
them, etc., etc.—Knight's *Worship*

arriving at Sais they abandoned themselves to mirth and reveling, and more wine was consumed in the city during this festival than in the three years beside.

This, Apollonius affirms, is not an overdrawn relation of all the festivals of Egypt. There were many other sacred festivals observed at Sais during the year; they were usually held on the new moon and harvest time. The mysteries of Isis were also observed there. Apollonius made but a short stay at this holy city, being anxious to reach Memphis before the inundation set in. They left Sais, and on the third day arrived at Heliopolis, "City of the Sun,"¹ which had once been pre-eminently the great center of philosophy and learning; it was the Athens of Egypt. Manetho, the historian, two hundred and fifty years before Apollonius, had been the keeper of the sacred archives at Heliopolis.² Colotes, a follower and pupil of Epicurus, was a native of this city.³ But this ancient seat of learning has never since the siege of Cambyses recovered from that spoliation; the streets were deserted; its schools were empty and its teachers silent. Apollonius was, however, enabled to identify the houses in which the divine Plato and Eudoxus dwelt and studied.⁴ He also visited the neglected obelisks erected by Pheron, son of Sesostris,

of the Priapus, p. 171. The command of St. Augustine to the women of his day who attend the sacred Christian festivals needs no commentary here.—St. Augustine, *Sermon*, clii.

¹ *Daleth, or the Homestead of the Nations* (Clark), p. 44.

² Lepsius' *Letters* (Bohn ed., 1853), p. 46; *Manetho und die*

Hundssternperiode (Boeck, 1846); *Hist. Ancient Egypt* (Rawlinson), vol. ii. pp. 2, 6, 9, etc.

³ Lepsius, p. 448; *Hist. of Egypt* (Brugsch), vol. i. p. 404.

⁴ *Geographical System of Herodotus Examined*, etc. (Rennell), vol. ii. p. 176; *Letters of Lepsius*, by Horners (Bohn ed., 1853), p. 384.

out of gratitude for his restoration from blindness;¹ they were dedicated to the sun (Helios); these things encouraged Apollonius in the study of philosophy and the practice of virtue. Having seen all that was worthy of attention at Heliopolis, they commenced their journey through the canal of Trajan, and on their route crossed the canal first made by Necho, and which now entered the Nile at Babylon, nearly opposite the great pyramid.² It originally united with the Nile at Bubastes, eight hundred stadia lower down,³ and, passing through the Bitter lakes, entered the Red Sea at Clysmon, about eight stadia to the south of Arsinoe, now (A. D. 69) far inland, but which was formerly a seaport of the Red Sea,⁴ the sea having retreated.⁵

Memphis, situated at the apex of the Delta,⁶ was the capital of Egypt before the days of Alexandria, and was also the seat of the worship of the ox-god as the type of Osiris, whose festival was observed in the most magnificent manner annually at the commencement of the Nile inundation.⁷ The bull deity of

¹ Cf. *Description Historique et Géographique des Plaines d'Héliopolis, et de Memphis* (Paris, 1755).

² *Blavatsky*, vol. i. p. 516.

³ Here was the ancient temple of goddess Besheh, or Ὑπερίωνος ἀγρία, or the Grecian Diana.

⁴ Horner's *Translation of Lepsius' Letters* (Bohn ed., 1853), p. 441, etc.

⁵ *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iv. p. 462.

⁶ Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 115.

⁷ This worship came into Egypt

from India. The country (India) was full of sacred white bulls. And it is strange how this bovine worship fastened itself upon the Christian superstition in England.— See Moor's *Oriental Fragments*, p. 516. As late as the sixteenth century vows and oblations were made to the white bull; he was never yoked, but was paraded through the streets of Christian cities and at the gates of monasteries.— See *Register of the Monastery of St. Edmondsbury, called "Corolla varia,"* by Rev. William Hawkins, of Hadleigh (1834).

Memphis was an incarnation of Pthah. The "father of beginnings," he was the personification of embryonic life. Apollonius describes his statue as that of a deformed child; on his head was figured the scarabeus, and he holds two serpents against his chest, and like Horus stands upon crocodiles. His most wonderful temple was at Memphis, and near it was another dedicated to the pigmy god Cabeiri, into which none but priests entered.¹ On the south of the temple of Pthah was a richly adorned inclosure, in which was the sanctuary of Aphrodite, and was supposed to have originated while Helen was in Egypt under the protection of Proteus. Aphrodite was a stranger in Egypt.

Apollonius says the most elegant temple of all Memphis² was that of Isis, which he examined, as well as that dedicated to Demeter, twenty stadia from the city. It was a large and handsome structure. The Memphites delighted in all kinds of lively amusements, buffoonery, and bull-fights, which were exhibited frequently in the avenue leading to the temple of Vulcan.³ Here, as before stated, and at many other places in Egypt (as Ra at Heliopolis), the worship of the ox Apis was carried to the highest degree of extravagance. They did not worship him as an emblem or symbol, but as a god. Strabo says, Apis was identical with Osiris, and Apollonius holds that the worship is the same as that of Serapis at Alexandria,—he had a bull's head, and was often called Apis-Osiris, or Serapis. Those who

¹ Samuel Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 192.

² *Lepsius' Letters* (Bohn. ed., 1853), p. 14; Rawlinson's *Hist. of Ancient Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 511.

³ Ἡφαιστος, son of Zeus, worker in metals: he forged the thunderbolts of Jupiter, and fabricated the shield of Achilles. Lemnos was his favorite residence on earth.

wished to consult this god first burned incense on an altar. The same ceremonies were performed in honor of Ammon-Ra, the sun-god. And they also sacrificed to Ammon-Ra on the fourth day of every month.¹ Apollonius says there were eight principal gods worshiped at Memphis. Damis thinks the next twenty were equally important.

On leaving Memphis they retraced their steps on the left of the Nile to the pyramids,² Apollonius discoursing, in the mean time, concerning the pyramids, which, he said, were not the work of the Egyptians, first, "because they resemble none of their structures at the present time; secondly, the Egyptians have always been a very religious people, sincerely attached to their gods, whom they recognize everywhere in statues, inscriptions, and maxims; all their temples, tombs, public edifices of every nature soever, even their private houses, have recognition of their gods in some of these forms.³ But the pyramids, the largest structures in existence, make no declaration, no prayer, have no god, no altar of sacrifice, no hierophant. Every fact known to us of the pyramids is a negation of every fact known to us of the Egyptians."⁴ In viewing Egypt from the summit of the pyramids (αἱ πυραμίδες), Apollonius describes it as a vast extended oblong plain or valley, lying between two ranges of

¹ *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia,* etc., by Dr. Rich and Lepsius (Bohn, 1853), pp. 126, 223; *Catullus and Tibullus*, Kelly (Bohn. ed.), p. 125.

² *Daleth, or the Homestead of the Nations* (Clark), p. 57.

³ Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i. p. 209.

⁴ *Archaic Dictionary*, Pyramid; *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* (Petrie, 1885); Wilkinson, *Popular Account of the Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 287.

mountains, the Arabian on the east, and the Lybian on the west, with the divine Nile dividing it in nearly two equal parts, and beyond which on either side the desert spreads out a sea of verdureless immensity. He says the pyramids cannot be viewed without astonishment, and thinks they were constructed, firstly, and chiefly, as tombs; secondly, as places of worship; thirdly, to gratify the vanity of the builders — a people who inhabited the country anterior to the Egyptians;¹ they also probably were for purposes similar to the pagodas of India, which were always erected on the banks of their sacred rivers,² and contained a well, in which were preserved the holy waters, and a chamber in which the priests performed the mysterious rites of their religion. “The more one sees of the great pyramid,” says Apollonius, “the more does he become impressed with its vastness.” And, notwithstanding the great antiquity of Memphis, the pyramid overshadowed its builders. The constructors are unknown; they are without names. Apollonius says the meaning of Memphis is “land of the pyramid.”

The third great pyramid which they visited is said to have been built by Rhodopis, a Thracian courtesan (Ῥοδόπιος ἐταίρες γυναικός); an idea which Damis scouts.³

¹ Cf. *The Pyramids of Gizeh*, etc., 3 vols. (Col. Vyse), vol. i. p. 3.

² *Blavatsky*, vol. i. p. 520; *Temples of Jugga-Nauth and Soma-Nauth* (Vincent), p. 82.

³ She was the servant of Iadmin, a Samian, and very beautiful. Æsop was a servant to the same master at the same time. Xanthus took her to Egypt to gain money for the

use of her person, but she was ransomed by Charaxus, of Mitylene, the brother of Sappho, the poetess. Rhodopis continued to remain in Egypt, and became exceedingly rich. It is said that one day as Rhodopis was bathing at Naucrates, an eagle took up one of her sandals and flew away with it, and dropped it in the lap of the Egyptian king; struck by

On leaving Memphis they pursued their journey by boat; in the mean time, as they progressed, an exchange of knowledge took place everywhere between their party and such learned Egyptians as they chanced to meet.¹ Damis says in the course of their navigation they passed innumerable towns and villages, and visited many cities and temples, the mere mention of which had become tedious to him, for Egypt swarmed with inhabitants, and abounded in more towns and cities than any other country on earth.² Many of the villages were adorned with trees of different species, as palms, peach, and groves of acacia. On the Lybian side a large region had of old been overflowed by the Nile, and having no outlet the water became stagnant; to remedy this, an ancient king, Amenemhat III., had dug out the mud, and constructed a lake, which he connected with the Nile by a canal at Herodea, thus preventing the overflow. In this great lake were many islands, with temples and obelisks; also a city, sacred to the crocodiles; it was called Mœris, after the name of the king, but Apollonius says Mœris signifies "marsh," from which it is more likely to have been derived.³ Antinoë, Lycopolis, Abydos, Tentyra, were all visited and explored.

the strange occurrence, and the beauty of the sandal, he took no rest until he had found out the fair owner, and when he had discovered her he made her his queen.—Lar-cher's *Notes on Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 363.

¹ *Berwick*, c. xliii. p. 299.

² 20,000 inhabited cities, says Herodotus, ii. 177.

³ Apollonius discoursed upon all the great questions which had agitated the savants of the world for ages before his day. Whence the people of Egypt? The age of the pyramids? Their architects? The cause of the overflow of the Nile? Its source? And he compared the valley of the Nile to the Indus in its flora, fauna, Nile overflow;

At Coptos, the point where the route of commerce diverged from the Nile and crossed the desert to the sea-port Berenice, Apollonius had contemplated remaining, to await expected news from Rome. This was a place of great business activity. Damis declared that the passage-boats and merchant-ships outnumbered those of Alexandria; and the uproar and confusion of boatmen, sailors, merchants, and camel-drivers at the landing were past endurance; each seemed engaged in a struggle which comprehended life and death, and all this tumult and bluster, Damis says, culminated like the "labors of Sisypheus, in accomplishing nothing," but noise. Berenice was a city built by Philadelphus on the Red Sea, for the accommodation of commerce;¹ it was twelve days' journey from Coptos, and all the transportation between these two depots was performed upon camels. Merchandise from the East was unladen at Berenice, and conveyed overland to Coptos, and sent down the Nile to Alexandria, whence it was distributed to the ports of Greece and Rome, while goods intended for the East were shipped at Berenice. Merchants and

and on all subjects except the source of the Nile he probably knew nearly as much as we do today.

Mr. Tooke, in his translation of *Lucian*, points out the route philosophy took from the Brachmans to the Ethiopians, and thence to the Egyptians, and he perfectly agrees with Herder (both of whom confirm *Diodorus Siculus*, by Count Volney and by Voltaire) that the Egyptians were a people of southern Asia, and that they came into Egypt by sea at

Upper Egypt, and spread themselves down the Nile; this would seem to be so, inasmuch as the oldest Egyptian remains, and the rudest, are to be found in Upper Egypt. — *Voyage d'Égypte et de Nubie*, par F. L. Norden, 2 vols. (Copen.), vol. ii. p. 184, etc.; *Sabaean Researches*, a Series of Essays delivered at the Royal Institute of Great Britain, by John Landseer, F. R. S. (1823), 4to, p. 91.

¹ *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Priault), pp. 160, 161, etc.

traders usually remained with their goods until the dog-star rose¹ with the sun, when they set sail for the frankincense country, which Apollonius supposes to be the country of the Indians.² From Coptos Apollonius and his disciples proceeded by camels to Thebes, "The City of Thrones,"³ the sight of which kindled anew his admiration for the old monarchs chronicled in the books of Homer. "Memphis," said he, "is older than history, and yet it was built as a rival of Thebes."⁴ Of all the states of Egypt, Thebes was the most religious;⁵ here Osiris sat upon a throne of gold, in the great temple of Karnak, which was approached through a sacred way of crouching figures (sphinxes), with ram's heads. Damis says there were sixteen hundred of them.⁶ The

¹ Dositheus, a Greek astronomer (B. C. 220), says the dog-star rises heliacally twenty-three days after midsummer; Merton says twenty-eight days, and Euctemon thirty-one days. The Egyptian coins of Alexandria and Thebes, celebrating this astronomical event, were very numerous, and all the Roman coins bearing the fabled return of the phoenix had a similar signification.—Humphrey's *Coin Manual*, vol. ii. pp. 558–676. See also, Bentley's *Hindu Astronomy*.

² *History of Egypt*, etc., by Samuel Sharpe, 2 vols. (1859), vol. ii. pp. 93–154. The whereabouts of the frankincense country spoken of by Apollonius we are all unable to conjecture. But that a large Roman trade was carried on with various places in India is confirmed in the frequency that Roman coins occur

in the archæological researches of that country; and the great quantities in which they are found, lead us to suppose that they had been secreted by merchants who had expected at some future time to recover them. It is but a few years since that a great quantity of Roman coins were dug up at Calicut; circumstances at once led to the supposition, from the date of the coinage and other facts, that they had been deposited by some Alexandrian merchant, who had never returned.

³ Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, etc., vol. i. p. 96; *Pyramids of Gizeh, and a Voyage into Upper Egypt*, by Col. Howard Vyse, vol. i. p. 30.

⁴ *Ancient Art and Mythology* (Knight), p. 106.

⁵ *Archaic Dictionary*, Thebes.

⁶ *Daleth, or the Homestead of the Nations* (Clark), p. 197.

sun-god, Phra, also had a magnificent temple at Thebes. Here Maut, 'the Mother,' the passive principle, was worshiped in connection with Ammon-Ra. There were four great temples here, dedicated to Jupiter Ammon. As Karnak was the sacred region of Thebes, so was Luxor¹ the region of its palaces." "Thebes stood," said Apollonius, "in the midst of a plain sixteen hundred stadia wide, guarded by mountains on either side; on the west it extended to the hills; it was two hundred stadia in ambit." Spending no unnecessary time at Thebes, Apollonius and his disciples pressed on to Latopolis and Ombos. At the last named city was a grand double temple where they worshiped two forms of Horus, sun-god, and son of Isis and Osiris. The crocodile was sacred to this city, and was worshiped in the form of the crocodile-headed god, Sarak.² While at Tentyra, or Denderah, they worshiped the goddess Athor, and captured and killed crocodiles (ἄγε πολεμίους περιέπουσι). This created disturbances, and

¹ The magnificence of this region (Luxor), the parent of which was in India, has, by the grandeur of its enduring monuments, excited the admiration of all ages. Beauty was crowned at Luxor (city of Thebes). It was so named from Lukshur, in Beloochistan. The present town is in obscurity. The splendor of the architecture of the Egyptian Luxor will be the admiration of many generations to come.— See *Its Five Greater Temples*, by de W. Abney. It was connected with the capital and temples of Karnak (*Blavatsky*, vol. i. p. 554), at Thebes by a

grand avenue of crio-sphinxes, a mile and a half long, terminating in obelisks and colossi. The great colonnade along the river front was the most magnificent structure in existence; it was erected by Horus. — *Geographical System of Herodotus Explained*, etc. (Rennell), vol. i. p. 247; *Archaic Dictionary, Biographical, Historical, and Mythological*, etc., by W. R. Cooper, F. R. A. S., art. Luxor.

² *Analysis of Antient Mythology* (Bryant), vol. iii. p. 257; *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. i. p. 551.

the two cities, although only about one hundred miles apart, were continually at war, and were alternately sacked until the Roman armies put an end to it.¹ The holy animals of the different cities had their own sacred buildings and temples; they were washed, anointed, richly appareled, and slept at night on soft cushions. Each house had its holy beast, and the sorrow of the household when it died was like that for a beloved child. If the sacred cat died, all the members of the household cut off the hair of their eyebrows, but if a dog died they shaved their head entire (Ξυρῶνται τὴν κεφαλήν). And the whole nation went into mourning on the death of the sacred ox; he had certain marks which betokened his divinity, and when duly recognized was lodged in a splendid temple, and had divine honors paid to him.²

With all these absurdities Apollonius became highly provoked.³ As they approached the sacred island

¹ The quarrels growing out of this antagonism are celebrated in the *Fifteenth Satire* of Juvenal.

² Osiris is sometimes represented with a bull's head.—*Herodotus*, iii. 28. Apis in Memphis was regarded as the eidolon or visible representation of the soul of Osiris.—*Plutarch, Isis and Osiris*.

³ Wolves had their sacred cities; every city and every month had their divinities, in the form of asps, vultures, crocodiles, fishes, cats, dogs, and these divinities had their sacred history. There was an Egyptian work, by Apollonius, surnamed Orapios, mentioned by Theophilus, patriarch of Antioch, en-

titled *The Divine Book*, and which gave the secret history and origin of all the gods of Egypt; and another sacred work, spoken of by Ammianus Marcellinus, which gave the precise age and genealogy of the bull Apis.—*Cf. Iamblichus, de mysteriis Ægyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum*; Proclus, in *Platonicum Alcibiadem*; Proclus, *de sacrificio et magia* (Aldus, 1497), fol. 1^o ed.

A tomb opened at Marietti bore this inscription: "This tomb was sealed in the thirteenth year of Rameses II." (3700 years ago). The hieroglyphics inside the tomb attest that herein was deposited the god Apis, who was born in the six-

of Philæ, "the beautiful," Apollonius felt a divine impulse imparted from the hallowed history of the place.¹ Here Osiris rested, and the most solemn oath of an Egyptian is, "By him who slept at Philæ,"²—for while Philæ observed the worship of Isis and Osiris, the formulary and licentiousness of an Alexandrian priesthood were here unknown. Her oracles and sacred groves had not yet been corrupted by the gold of the conquerors;³ and so venerated was the city that kings uncrowned and philosophers uncovered themselves on entering its gates. It was thought more noble to rule over this island, nine stadia long, than to direct the destinies of all Egypt; and every devout Egyptian bowed his head in humility when Philæ was named. "All the great temples," says Apollonius, "had their festivals, but Philæ surpassed them all." He paid his devotions in the great temple of Ammon-Ra, and departed for Meroe, at which was a temple of Jupiter Ammon.⁴ He explored the pyra-

teenth year of Necho, on the seventh of Paophi; that he was installed in the temple of Pthah, in the first year of Psammetichus II., on the ninth of Epiphi; that the manifestation of god toward heaven (died) took place in the twelfth year of Ouraphres, on the twenty-first of Payni; and that he lived seventeen years, six months, and five days.—See Marietti's *Choix de Monuments et de Dessins decouverts ou exécutés pendant le Deblaiement du Serapeum de Memphis*, par M. Aug. Marietti (Paris, 1857), p. 11, etc.

¹ *Daleth, or the Homestead of the Nations* (Clark), p. 243.

² *Archaic Dictionary*, Philæ.

³ It was under the sacred groves of Philæ that Plutarch wrote his treatise on Isis and Osiris. He dedicated it to Kleia, the high-priestess of the temple, for she had inspired its pages. This philosopher was unable to explain the mythology of the Egyptian religion, but he found a clear and definite meaning in these two great deities. Herodotus says, "The only gods really worshiped in Egypt."

⁴ Meroe was located in Ethiopia, called an island by the ancients, although not really so. It was the chief emporium of trade between Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia, and India.—Lucan's *Pharsalia*, b. iv. 1333.

mids of Meroe, and went to the confines of Ethiopia, on the east side of the Nile, called Sicaminus,¹ the "Ultima Thule" of Egypt. At this place four great ways meet—commercial routes. Here it is that the Greeks and Egyptians transact trade with the barbarians, and the various articles of merchandise are here piled up in heaps waiting for exchange and guarded by only a single unarmed sentinel; the traders never meet. The merchandise consisted of gold in wedges, unstamped, and flax, elephants' tusks, and many varieties of aromatic roots, perfumes, spices, and gums. This is the method in which trade is carried on with the barbarians of inner Ethiopia,²—the Greeks and Egyptians placing in heaps as much of their goods, consisting of cotton stuffs and implements of the chase or war and trinkets for personal adornment, as they are willing to barter for a corresponding quantity of the goods of the Ethiopians, and then retire; this is an offer for exchange. If the savage accepts the terms, he removes the merchandise left by the Greek or Egyptian, and leaves his to be taken by them; this completes the transaction.³

Then, as now, the caravan traversed the sandy desert, and came laden with spice and perfume, gold and ivory. Then also, as now, came the long train, the black slave-gang, prisoners from tribes who had forfeited their lives according to the code of savage warfare. Egypt was the birthplace of bondage long ere the days of

¹ Ptolemy calls it *εσρα σικαμίνος*. He is the only geographer who mentions it.

² *Herodotus*, iv. 186; *Daleth, or Homestead of the Nations*, p. 243.

³ *The Technical History of Commerce*, etc., by John Yeats, LL. D. (1872), pp. 33-57; *Description de l'Egypte*, etc., par Maillet, p. 190; *Primitive Culture* (Figuier), p. 310.

Apollonius. And this doomed swarthy helot of the serving caste has ever catered to the luxury and administered to the avarice and sensuality of the dominant race. Their feet have worn a pathway deep into the soil and character of Egypt in an unbroken succession from Nubia to the Mediterranean, beginning with the earliest times.¹ This unceasing march of the slave caravan has outlived all changes and survived all dynasties.² From Ethiopia they returned to Thebes, and, under the direction of a young man named Timasion, who had strayed into their camp while at Thebes, Apollonius visited Memnon, "Son of the Morning." This statue was erected in commemoration of the son of Aurora, who slew Antilochus at Troy, and was himself slain by Achilles.³ The two colossi stood side by side, and were sixty feet above the plain, and looked toward the rising sun. They were made of black marble, and measured eighteen feet each across the shoulders. One had been thrown down, during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, by an earthquake, and was now without a head.⁴ The feet were united, according to the fashion of sculpture in the time of Dædalus the Cretan, and the hands rested on the base on which it was placed, and, although sitting, looked as if about to rise. The eyes were long and pensive, the forehead low.⁵ Damis, who also saw them, says they had gentle features, and that at the rising of the sun Memnon

¹ *Egypt's Place in Universal History*; also, *Journey to Two of the Oases of Upper Egypt* (Edmonstone, 1822).

² Philostratus, *Icones* (Greek ed.), p. 167.

³ Horner's *Translation of Letters of Lepsius* (Bohn ed.), p. 257.

⁴ *Pausanias*, vol. i. p. 123; *Tacitus*, book ii. p. 61.

⁵ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 235.

uttered sweet and prolonged sounds, and that it possessed the property of shedding tears at pleasure.¹

From the beginning of the reign of Augustus, Memnon has been visited by Greek worthies and tourists, many of whom had inscriptions engraven upon the statues to commemorate the event of their visit. One of these inscriptions is as follows :

In the seventeenth year of the Emperor Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, "I, Titus Petronius Secundus, Præfect, heard Memnon at the first hour in the Ides of March, and gave honor in Greek verses below."²

Again, Viaticus Theramenes made this inscription when he heard Memnon in the Calends of June, at the opening of the lotus blossom :

"Servianus being for the third time consul, with him was his wife Asidonia Calpe."

¹ Tacitus says, "Germanicus saw the celebrated statue of Memnon, A. D. 19, which, though wrought in stone, yet when played on by the rays of the morning sun returns a vocal sound." In Desmontier's *Lectures on Mythology* there is one of the prettiest accounts we have of the statue. I will give it in his own words: "On éleva dans la suite une statue de marbre noir, qui représentait Memnon assis, les mains élevées et la bouche entr'ouverte comme s'il allait parler. A peine le premier rayon de l'Aurore frappait-il le corps de la statue qu'elle prenait un air riant et paraissait s'animer; mais aussitôt que le rayon atteignoit la bouche, il en sortait un son harmonieux et tendre, qui

semblait dire, Bonjour, ma mere; le soir au moment où l'Aurore allait éclairer l'autre hémisphère, un superfaible et plaintif semblait dire, Ma mere, adieu."—Cf. Ἐκ τῶν Κτηρίων, Ἀγαθορχίδου Μεμνονος ἱστορικῶν ἐκλογαί, Ἀππιανοῦ Ἱβηρικῆς καὶ Ἀντιζωϊκῆς (Henr Stephanus, 1557).

Jacob Bryant says, "Memnon, the Ethiopian, never was at Troy in Phrygia, but it was at Troy in Egypt at which he fought and was slain."—*Dissertations on the War of Troy*, by Jacob Bryant; *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. iv. p. 329.

² Cf. (Appendix) *Pyramids of Gizeh*, etc., by Perring and Vyse, vol. iii. pp. 1 to 200.

Some of the Greek verses were :

"Hearing the sacred voice of Memnon, I longed for thee, O my mother, and desired also that thou mightest hear it."

"Cæcilia Trebulla, thy mother, O renowned Memnon, the goddess, the rosy-fingered Aurora, has rendered thee vocal for me, who have desired to hear thee."

Another: "Once the son of Saturn, great Jove, had made thee monarch of the East; now thou art but a stone; and it is from stone that thy voice proceeds."

Damis says: "The similar attestations engraved upon the monuments would fill a volume."¹

Apollonius is very reserved concerning the vocal powers and genealogy of Memnon;² he describes the statue as a representation of a sacrifice to the Ethiopian Sol and Eoan, Eos or Aurora, and then dismisses the whole subject and proceeds,³ "Mounted on camels

¹ Lepsius, *Königsbuch der Alten Ägypten*, vol. i. p. 68.

Grotius relates out of an ecclesiastical writer: "That there was a statue of Apollonius in Tyana that spoke, being actuated by some assistant Dæmon. It declared certain verses to a young student of philosophy in Tyana concerning the immortality of the soul. He recited the verses to his fellow-students in a frantic posture, starting out of his sleep, and avowing that Apollonius was then present, though none saw him there but himself." Grotius further adds, that the mouth of the statue was soon closed by the

power of Christ, and the preaching of the Gospel.—*An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness, or a True and Faithful Representation of the Everlasting Gospel of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the only, etc., etc.,* by H. D. More, D. D. (London, 1660), p. 151.

² If the ancients did, as we, regard the voice of Memnon a miracle, the manifestation of a godhead to man, we have for its attestation the most perfect chain of testimony ever offered to prove a miracle.—See *La Statue Vocale de Memnon*, etc. (Le-tronne), *Qua. Rev.*, No. 276, p. 533.

³ Pausanias, vol. i. p. 123.

we set out for the dwellings of the gymnosophists." Damis, however, says that Memnon was the son of Aurora, who is said to have been slain at Troy; but that he did not die at Troy as has been given out, for he was never there, but always remained in Ethiopia, where he reigned for five generations. The Ethiopians are the longest-lived of mortals, and they still lament Memnon as a youth cut off by a premature death.¹

The gymnosophists were a sect of philosophers of Upper Egypt, whose priests performed their religious sacraments in a state of perfect nudity (γυμνός). To visit these philosophers was the principal object of the journey of Apollonius to Ethiopia. His desire was to compare the tenets, philosophy, and mode of life

¹ We need not remind the reader how, since the commencement of the present century, the patient industry of eminent men has poured a flood of light upon ancient Egypt. Not only have its pyramids and sepulchral chambers been explored, but its hieroglyphics deciphered, and its inscriptions read. By these means much has been brought to light, and by the tablets at the back of the colossi of Memnon, we learn that both represent King Amenophis the Third, who began his reign about fourteen hundred years before Apollonius. They were designed as an entrance to an avenue leading to the temple-palace of Amenophis, about eleven hundred feet further inland. This palace-temple, once so richly adorned with

its sculpture, sphinxes, and columns, is now a mere heap of sandstone. Many centuries later the Greeks began to settle in Egypt; they found the easternmost statue of the pair had been shattered down to the waist. This was its condition when Apollonius saw it. And it may be as aptly said here as elsewhere, that with all the markings and engravings that have been discovered in Egypt not a single scratch upon any stone from Alexandria to Meroe confirms the presence of the Hebrews; nor is there any history to confirm the Scripture story of Hebrew Captivity,—not one line, not one word,—and every purported discovery of this character is a fraud.—See *Prophet of Nazareth*, etc., p. 455.

of the Egyptian gymnosophists with those of India, with whom he had lived so long in their own country,¹ to the end of determining whether they were of the same race, and practiced the same rites.²

They had proceeded but a short way on their journey when they met a person dressed after the manner of Memphis; he seemed like an idle loungeur, having no decided object in view. On inquiry, it was ascertained that he had committed an involuntary manslaughter, and to escape the penalty by the laws of Memphis, where the crime was committed, he must leave the country and take shelter with the gymnosophists, and when he is purified and absolved by them he may return to his home, but not till atonement has been made for his crime by visiting the tomb of the deceased and

¹ Priaulx, *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Quaritch, London).

² Porphyry, treating of a class of religious men among the Indians whom the Greeks were accustomed to call gymnosophists, mentions two orders of them: one, the Brachmanes, and the other the Samanœans. The Brachmanes receive their religious knowledge, like the priesthood, in right of birth; but the Samanœans are select, and consist of persons who choose to prosecute divine studies. The Brachmanes are of the same race, an hereditary order of priests, while the Samanœans are selected from the whole Indian nation. — Porphyry, *de Abstinencia*, lib. iv.

Clemens Alexandrinus describes the Brachman sect as worshipping

Hercules and Pan. He says: "Philosophy anciently flourished among the barbarians, and was afterward introduced among the Greeks, as the prophets of the Egyptians, the Chaldees of the Assyrians." The gymnosophists do not inhabit towns or houses; they are clad with the bark of trees and eat acorns and drink water; they do not marry nor procreate children. The religion which they practice is conformable with the Vedas, as well as their manners and opinions. Philostratus and Hierocles say they worship the sun. Strabo and Arrian speak of them as performing sacrifices for the benefit of the nation, as well as individuals. — *Arrianus Nicomediensis et Quintus Curtius Rufus* (Mannermann, 1835), p. 142.

offering there a sacrifice of no costly value. And whilst waiting for admission to the gymnosophists, he is obliged to wander about the borders of their habitation until they become satisfied that he is truly penitent, when they take compassion on him. This penitent had been supplicating for pardon seven months, and had not yet obtained it. All of this Timasion communicated to Apollonius. "They are probably ignorant," said Apollonius, "that Phileseus, whom this man slew in an angry quarrel, was a descendant from Thamus, the Egyptian, who formerly, out of revenge, ravaged the country of their predecessors." Timasion, astonished at this revelation of Apollonius, exclaimed: "How happened this?" "In this wise," said Apollonius: "Thamus meditated a revolution in the government of Memphis, and had already resorted to acts of violence, when the gymnosophists reprimanded him and baffled his purpose; for this he vented his fury upon their country, and plundered all that part which lay nearest Memphis.¹ From this revolutionist, Thamus, the murdered Phileseus is removed thirteen generations; and I think it great ignorance in them not to know these facts, and very unwise in them not at once acquitting a young man guilty only of an involuntary crime, and may be committed in self-defense upon one whose ancestor had so deeply wronged the gymnosophists." These facts were communicated to the young man, when he sought out Apollonius and inquired of him: "Who art thou, O stranger?" "It is not lawful for me," said Apollonius, "to communicate with a man stained with blood." But

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 234, etc.

he desired the young man to wait on him after he had obtained absolution and lodgings with the gymnosophists. Four days after this the young man presented himself to Apollonius, who performed the ceremonies enjoined by Empedocles and Pythagoras for purification, and bid him go home cleansed from his crimes. About noon the next day they arrived at the college of the gymnosophists, not far from the banks of the Nile. The place was barren and inhospitable; little attention had been paid to the cultivation of trees in their district, a fact which Apollonius deprecated, inasmuch as the Indians held the tree sacred, and all their sages assembled in a grove for public business. They had no general place of meeting for public worship, like the Indians;¹ but they had chapels on elevated places, like the Egyptians. They wore a dress like the Athenian; in intelligence and wisdom the Indians excel them as much as they do the Egyptians.² The chief object of their worship above all things is the Nile, as the god of humidity and fecundity. They also worship the sun at its rising. They live entirely in the open air, and have neither house nor cottage. They have a kind of caravansary for the accommodation of strangers passing through their country.³

The cool manner in which the gymnosophists received Apollonius was a surprise to him, as he had anticipated demonstrations in his favor. Damis soon discovered the cause of their indifference to proceed from a report circulated among them by a special mes-

¹ Priaulx, *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Quaritch, Lon.)

² *Philo*, vol. iii. p. 523.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane*, par Chassang, pp. 234-249; *Enc. Brit.*, art. Caravanseraï.

senger from Alexandria sent by Euphrates. This messenger had arrived and departed in advance of the party of Apollonius. The executor of this artifice was one Thrasybulus, a Naucratile. On his arrival, he pretended great literary affinities with their order, his real object being to forestall public opinion against Apollonius; and he scrupled to nothing to accomplish his purpose. And although the gymnosophists believed that the stories told by Thrasybulus were probably true, yet they did not accord with the character of Apollonius as previously reported to them, and they therefore did not decline intercourse with him when he arrived; but they were very formal and reserved, and spoke lightly of the gymnosophists of India, of whom Apollonius was fulsome in praise.¹ All these things rendered him extremely uneasy, until finally, the above facts being discovered, a mutual understanding took place. After this, he was in daily communication and discourse with them. Many of these discourses were preserved by Damis, and are not without much interest, but which we have thought best to omit from this sketch.²

On one occasion, in answer to some questions propounded to Apollonius by a learned gymnosophist concerning his philosophy, his mode of life, and his religion, Apollonius answered: "O wise Egyptian, the choice which Prodicus³ says was made by Hercules in his youth, has been rightly and philosophically explained

¹ *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Priault), p. 132.

² *Philo Judeus*, vol. iii. p. 523 (Bohn ed., 1855).

³ Prodicus was an atheist. He

lectured at Athens, B. C. 450. Among his pupils were Isocrates, Euripides, and probably Socrates. He wrote a work, called *The Choice of Hercules*, preserved by Xenophon.

by you. But I have chosen otherwise. In the doctrine of Pythagoras I observed something sublime; I perceived the ineffable wisdom by which he not only knew what he was but what he had been. In forming my opinion of it, I considered the purity with which he approached the altars, his abstinence from animal food, his wearing no garments made of what had life, the manner in which he held his tongue,¹ and the rules he prescribed for its right government. In short, when I considered how he had laid down the rest of his philosophical system, founded, as it were, on oracles and truth itself, I flew at once to his doctrines, without choosing a philosophy composed of two systems, as you have advised. I have considered all systems, and have been struck with some beauty in all, and not only beautiful, but divine; but some seemed superior to others, some dazzled by their brightness. But most of them held loose reins on appetites and passions; the hands were left at liberty to grasp at wealth; the eyes to behold every unholy object; and a latitude allowed to love and desire. I found but one which, if true to its tenets, promised complete exemption from all these unruly affections. It stood out to me in unspeakable beauty; it had subdued Pythagoras himself, and had been the guiding star of Zeno; it stood apart from all other systems, and did not mingle in the train of popular philosophies, and seemed to invite me within its embraces in these words: 'O young man, the path to which I would direct your steps is full of cares and self-

¹ For an explanation of the proverb of βους ἐπὶ γλῶττι, the *bos in lingua*, consult Erasmus. Proverb-ium de iis qui corrupti pecuniâ (in quâ olim bovis signum) loqui non auderent (Berwick), p. 317.

denials. If any man conform to my rule of life, he must remove from his table all animal food and forget the use of wine ; he must not mingle the cup of wisdom set in the hearts of all men with a love of wine ; he is to wear no garments made from either hair or wool ; his shoes must be of the bark of trees ; and his rest and sleep wherever and whenever he can get them. I am so severe with my followers, that I have bridles for curbing the tongue. Attend now, and I will tell you the rewards which await him who makes me his choice. He shall possess, without a rival, the virtues, justice and temperance ; he shall become more a terror to tyrants than their slave, and shall be more acceptable to the gods, through his humble offerings, than they who shed the blood of hecatombs of bulls ; he shall be sympathetic in the sufferings of others, with a transcendent love for all humanity. When once he is made pure, I will give him knowledge of hereafter, and so fill his visual ray with light as to render him capable of distinguishing the merit of gods and heroes, and of appreciating, to their full value, all shadowy phantasms whenever they assume the form of mortals or immortals.'

" This is the philosophy and this is the life I have chosen, O learned Egyptian ! in doing which I think I have neither deceived myself nor have been deceived by others. I have endeavored to act in all things as becomes a philosopher of that school, and have acquired all that was promised by it. I have considered as a philosopher the origin of this art, and whence are derived its principles, and it has appeared to me to be the invention of men who excelled in virtuous actions,

and consequently in divine knowledge, and who have searched deeply into the nature of the soul, whose mortal and immutable essence is the true source whence it flows. I never thought we were indebted to the Athenians for the knowledge of the soul.¹ The

¹ The inornateness of all occidental notions on the condition of the human soul, from the time of Plato to our day, is not so much in design as the want of capacity in the western mind, to absorb all the metaphysical subtlety and imaginative vastness of the oriental intellect whence this philosophy arose. The inane spirituality of the Hindoo heaven was presented in oriental literature on a scale of grandeur and intensity wholly beyond the comprehension of the feeble intellects of the early Christians. But they took in their fill of it. The Buddhist devotee loathes existence as the sum of all evil. The disciple of the Nazarene clings to it as the only good. The divergence is enormous. Nor could Christian sophistry in its sublimest flights raise its neophytes to a comprehension of that blessed state, the oriental Nirwana; to them it was an empty, lifeless, and godless paradise of immobility, of which nothing could be affirmed. This refined and quiescent rest of the human soul in the Nirwana (heaven) of Gotama had no allurements for the Christian. To satisfy the grossness of his nature and meet his mental rank, heaven must be rapturous, phenomenal, and sensuous. But while

this western philosophy could not mount to those higher and more refined states of the philosophy of Valmika, it eagerly and comprehensively grasped the dogma of the twenty-eight evolutionary hells of the Vishnú Puranas, the complexity of which it evaded in its articles of faith by altogether erecting them into one gigantic hell. And there is no doubt that Christianity has proselytized more by presenting the tortures of a material hell than were possible through the promised rest of the metaphysical nihilistic Nirwana. It was thus that terror and torture were enshrined as fundamental dogmas of the Christian creed. All the vigorously drawn and highly colored pictures of the tortures of damned souls in our theology are but feeble utterances from the original Hindoo. But the founders took in all that they had genius to utilize. None but infidels were damned to the Hindoo hell, and this is also reflected in our philosophy by making the most ample provisions for the accommodation of the unbeliever — vastly the preponderating class of offenders.

The dogma of heaven, or state of rewards, was a subsequent invention, and was interpolated in our

doctrines of Plato were taught us at Athens with divine eloquence, and they were perverted and corrupted by the admission of erroneous doctrines and opinions contrary to the conception of the divine Plato. These corrupted doctrines had gained a foothold in my native country during my minority, and I determined to seek the truth from its fountain-head, and for such reasons I was induced to visit the Indians. And for like reasons I have come to you, believing them and you men of sublime genius because of the pure atmosphere you breathe. But I find that you also, like the Athenians with the doctrines of Plato, have perverted the dogmas of the Indian gymnosophists, and worship your gods more after the ritual of the Egyptians than your own.¹ For myself I will say nothing, but I do not care to hear the Indians spoken of with contumely. And if you possess the candor and wisdom of the Himeræan poet,² and think there is any truth in what I say, you will without delay reverse your judgment and change your opinions.”³ During one of the many conversations had with the gymnosophists, Apollonius said, “You are ashamed of

theology; it partakes, however, of the character of the age and the race among whom it first appeared. It is a gross and sensuous paradise, with a low order of pleasures; a state that every intellectual man and woman, with ennobling conceptions of humanity, would rather seek to escape than strive to attain.— See *Bhagavat Gita; Die Religion des Buddha, und ihre Eutstehung* (Koeppen, 1858); *Mythological, Classical, and Philosophical Dictionary of India* (Madras, 1871).

¹ Priaulx, *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Quaritch, London).

² Stesichorus, a lyric poet of Himera in Sicily. He lost his sight for invectives against Helen, and received it again on recanting what he had written. His name at first was Tisias, but was changed to Stesichorus in memory of his being the first who taught the chorus to dance to the lyre.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Prodiges*, par A. Chas-sang, p. 253.

having caused the earth's displeasure which forced you to migrate to this country. You had rather pass for any race than Ethiopians, and yet you are continually exposing yourselves to this charge. You have laid aside all the ornaments, and as far as in your power all the customs peculiar to the Indians. But no man grounded in the wisdom of the Hindoos would ever mistake your nationality. You have worshiped your own gods, but it has been after an Egyptian form, and in speaking of the Indians you have used unbecoming language, just as if blame cast on them did not recoil on yourselves as the descendants of the same race.¹ And that the customs which began at the time of your changing your dress are not yet altered; even to this day you are giving specimens of a reproachful, sarcastic style of conversation in saying that the Indians have made no useful discovery, and that they are entirely given over to the phenomena of raising apparitions and specters and certain delusions by which they fascinate and defraud the eyes and ears. All such conversations

¹ Philostratus says that the gymnosophists of Ethiopia, who settled near the sources of the Nile, descended from the Brahmins of India, having been driven thence for the murder of their kings. This, Philostratus says, he learned from an ancient Brahmin named Iarchus.

Another ancient writer, Eutathues, also states, that the Ethiopians came from India.—*Blavatsky*, vol. i. 567; ii. p. 437. Their customs, language, religion, and physiology seem to reduce the entire problem to the answer of one of two questions; either the

Indians came from Egypt or the gymnosophists came from India, and for a thousand reasons it is more probable that India was the homestead of both.—*Anacalypsis: An Attempt to Draw Aside the Veil of the Saitic Isis,—an Inquiry into the Origin of Language*, etc., by Godfrey Higgins, vol. i. p. 44. This important ethnological problem was probably more nearly a demonstrable truth in the days of Apollonius than in our day. And we deem the proofs of the Indian origin of the Egyptian sufficient to-day.

are proofs of your ignorance or perversion of the Indian philosophy. It was only a proof of your folly when you passed on my wisdom before I had opened my mouth; however, as to myself I will say nothing.¹ And now, in all candor let me submit to you: Do you think that your methods for propagating truth and purifying the world can prove otherwise than a failure? True, it may tend to the purification of yourselves; but why not practice your great virtues in the world and surrounded by temptations? Why not remain in the midst of crowded populations and help purify them by your example and practice? Do you not rob the world of your ennobling influence by taking yourselves out of it? I think your system of philosophy in these particulars has little to recommend it, beside its selfishness."

Subsequently to this an Egyptian gymnosophist, named Nilus, said to Apollonius: "I have been very much impressed with what you said in your last discourse concerning the Indians and Egyptians. My father traded on the Red Sea, having command of a ship which the Egyptians sent over from Berenice to India.² In his voyages thither he conversed with many

¹ Cf. Priaulx, *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Quaritch, London).

² This route lies up the Nile to Coptos, thence to Berenice (Belzoni's *Narrative*, p. 304) on the Red Sea (Arabic Sinus), thence to the outlet of the Red Sea, between the points of land, Berenice epi Dives on the west and Oæles on the east, where were erected the

"Pillars of Hercules," they being bronze shafts upon which were engraven the great exploits of seafaring men. Passing between these columns they enter the Avalites Sinus, thence the Erythræum Mare or Atlantic Sea, where dwelt the Atlanteans (*Geography of Herodotus*, by Wheeler [London, 1854], p. 19), on which they sailed to India.— Cf. Plato's *Critias* and *Timæus*.

Indians, from whom he received the same account of their wise men that you have given. My father told me that they were the wisest of mortals, and that the Ethiopians were a colony from India.¹ In consequence

¹I think it is pretty generally conceded that Upper and not Lower Egypt was first peopled; that its first population was a maritime people, and came from India, Ceylon, and the farther East. The oldest monuments are found in Upper Egypt.

With no intent of entering the realm of ethnology in this essay, we know that Christianity did not originate in Judea, nor do we know where it first manifested itself, nor did those who have told us all about it, know. But this much we do know, that the earliest knowledge we have of it was among the Copts of Egypt (they take their name from Coptos), and that, as they advanced in it, they became more ignorant and bigoted, and it is to the Copts that we also trace our earliest gospels, more ancient than the Christianity of the Syrians, Maronites, or Armenians; this race dates its nationality far into the prehistoric past. They were the builders of Thebes and the pyramids. Theologians interested in solving the old proverb of Nazareth may smear themselves over with war-paint, and sound the war-whoop; but if the fight is to be contested with intellectual weapons, and upon historical territory, they may more creditably leave the question uncon-

tested, for they have neither weapons nor territory in their cause. Ethnology teaches us that the Copts were a race from Upper Egypt and Abyssinia, and for ages past their trend has been with the current of the Nile, and for the past eighteen hundred years have become more and more degraded with every remove from their original homestead. The great ethnological residuum or unsolved problem is, Where did the Ethiopians, the ancestors of the Copts, come from? The best information we have from modern scientific men is, that they were a maritime people, and came from India; and this is perfectly consistent with Plato, and thoroughly sustained by Apollonius. Without, however, drawing conclusions upon any but the surest foundations, it may be profitable for the curious to pursue this hint, and ascertain if it may not in some way account for the many similar rites and legends of the Christian and Hindoo religion. The ancient Brahmins taught the doctrine of periodical creation and destruction of the world; a very complex doctrine, but much modified in the Christian cosmos. This, it is well known, was the doctrine of the early stoics, and, according to Dr. Pritchard, they obtained this doctrine through the

of this account of my father, and my love for adventure and knowledge, I resigned my hereditary patrimony and joined the naked philosophers, to learn from them the wisdom they are said to have obtained from the East. I found them a wise people, but not so wise as my father had represented the Indians to be. And when I asked why they followed not the philosophy of their great antitype, the Indians, they had recourse to invectives such as you heard when you first came among them. And now having acquired all that can be learned among the gymnosophists, I am determined upon deserting them and visiting India, —*The Hill of the Sages*,—on the first favorable opportunity, and learning from them that wisdom which my father so highly commended, and you so eloquently discoursed upon.” For the information of this young man, Apollonius recounted to him his entire adventure in India,¹ to which he listened with almost breathless interest, and when he had finished exclaimed: “The gods, O master, have sent you hither as my guide and assistant, to give me intellectual relish of their wisdom without having to travel the ocean.” “But,” said Apollonius, “have you fully considered the consequences of a desertion from the gymnosophists, and

medium of Egyptian priests, whose information was received through the channels of commerce and immigration. Now, it is just possible, were a small modicum of that spirit of investigation, which has for at least one thousand years endeavored to rationally account for the whence and where of Christianity,

to devote its research in this direction, it might very vexatiously discover the real object of their search. — See, also, *The Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*, etc., by R. Payne Knight, p. 109.

¹ Priaulx, *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*.

the censure to which you subject yourself?" "I have," said Nilus; "and he who makes a choice *may* commit a fault, while he who does not *has* certainly committed one. Up to this time I have served among the light troops of the Egyptian philosophers; from this moment I am going to put on heavy armor, and adorn myself with your shield. It certainly cannot be wrong for a man to take the right way, having found it after having wandered in the wrong. I might remain with the gymnosophists, and with the light which I have this day received, and by my counsel, endeavor to bring them back to the creed of their fathers. For he who advises another to embrace some new doctrine, avoids at least the reproach of giving unsavory advice if he has adopted that doctrine himself. But I shall not remain; I have made my choice."

These and many other conversations were held by Apollonius and Nilus, Damis only being present. At a subsequent meeting of Apollonius, Nilus, Thespasian, and Damis, which took place in a grove, Apollonius said he would introduce a subject for discussion by asking a question. The gymnosophists replied, "Ask what questions you please, for all knowledge proceeds from interrogation."

"Why," asked Apollonius, "have you given the Egyptian representations of the gods to objects so few of which are conceived in wisdom, or in any degree suitable to the divine nature?" On hearing this, the Egyptian savant, Thespasian, with some little warmth, replied, "Of what nature are statues of the gods with the Greeks?" "They are," replied Apollonius, "of exquisite beauty." "I suppose," said Thespasian, "you

allude to the statues of the Olympian Jove, Minerva, the Cnidian Venus, and Argive Juno.”¹ “They were not the only ones,” said Apollonius, “to which I alluded; but I say in general, that the art which shows itself in the rest has preserved a most becoming propriety in their formation. As to what I have seen among you, I think you hold your gods rather in a ludicrous than in a serious and honored point of view.” “Would you have us believe,” said Thespasian, “that, in their conception, your gods are of a higher inspiration, and that your Phidias and Praxiteles went up to heaven, whence they drew their art first-hand from the pantheon of the gods?”² Or was it something else which skilled them in the arts?” “It was imagina-

¹ The statue referred to is a figure of Juno sitting on a throne, with Minerva and the goddess of youth standing. It is a work erected in the temple of Juno at Mantinea. A large figure of Juno as the goddess presiding over marriage, made of Pentilisian marble, was in the temple of Juno at Plataea. There was a marble statue of the Cnidian Venus at Thespiae, another Venus at Alexandria, a city of Caria near Mount Latinos.

² A list of some of the principal works of Praxiteles embraces the following: statues of Apollo, Latona, and Diana, at Megara; a statue of Bacchus, put up in Elis; a statue of Mercury carrying Bacchus when an infant, in marble; a figure of Æsculapius, placed in the grove of Trophonius at Lebadea; a figure of a satyr, made of Parian

marble and kept at Megara; a figure of Pan carrying a leather bottle and accompanied by the nymphs and Danae; statues of the Twelve Deities at Megara; figure representing the labors of Hercules, Thebes; a statue of Diana, citadel at Athens; statue of Diana Anticyra, in Phocis; statue of Ceres, Athens; also Proserpine and Iacchus; marble statue of Venus at Thespiae; statues of Persuasion and Consolation, temple of Venus at Megara; also of Fortune; marble statue of Phryne at Thespiae, and another at Delphi. In addition to these, Strabo mentions several in the temple of Diana at Ephesus. I wish this note would warrant us in referring to the celebrated works of Critias, Nestocles, Polycletus, Phædmon, Scopas, Smilis, Polycharmus, Xenocrates, and others.

tion," replied Apollonius; "a much wiser mistress than imitation. To form in his mind the image of Jupiter, one should see him with the same enraptured imagination Phidias did, sitting with the Hours and stars.¹ And he who would attempt a representation of Pallas should first fill his mind with accurate and lofty ideas of wars, armies, and councils, and be able to conceive her transcendental appearance at the moment she left the brain of Jupiter, in full and complete armor. If you place an image of a hawk, an owl, a wolf, a dog, or a bull in your temple to represent Mercury, Minerva, or Apollo, the beast may be exalted by such representation, but the gods will certainly be debased. The Greeks, it is true, worship the divine forms produced by their inspired sculptors under a praiseworthy rivalry. No such stimulus to art exists in Egypt; in all her sacred subjects the law is inflexible, no innovation is tolerated, the same forms were preserved, from the remotest period, with a precision of measurement and detail almost marvelous. Religious zeal, therefore, which, with experience, observation, and a freedom of imagination, has made Grecian sculpture the admiration and adoration of the world, has done nothing for Egypt. They were not allowed to copy nature; it was therefore useless to study it. Certain rules, measurements, and models have been established by your priesthood,—the miserable conceptions of an ignorant

¹The Egyptian deities were chiefly honored by lamentations; the Greek divinities by dances.—See *De Dalmone*, *Socrates*, *Apuleius*, *Herodotus*. No nation on earth had a richer collection of games and fes-

tivals growing out of its religious system than Greece. The Greek divinity was seldom looked upon as being better than man.—*Hist. European Morals* (Lecky), vol. i. p. 344.

age, which every artist was compelled to follow without the innovation of a hair." "I think," said Thespasian, "you slight our mode of worship and methods in divine art, before you give a fair examination; for surely what we are speaking of is wise, if anything Egyptian is so. And furthermore, we know our sculpture and worship to be the mother of the Grecian system.¹ True, you represent your gods by the divine form of man, but even yet they have not forgotten their parentage, for many of them now, and formerly all of them, were adorned with the horns of the Egyptian bull, Apis. Your Serapis and Isis, Jupiter Ammon, Zeus Ammon, Bacchus, Demeter, Achelous, Demetrius, Poliorcetes, and, above all, the head of Astarte, the most famous of all, the Phœnician queen, are represented with horns. And more reprehensible still is that system which represents its greatest deified conquerors, as Alexander, with the horns of an Egyptian bull.² And then your great philosopher Plato affirmeth that there is but one God, and that all things were created by him. Your Thales, who had searched into

¹ Cf. Campollion's *Panthéon Egyptien* (Paris, 1825); *History of Ancient Art* (Reber), pp. 1 to 70.

² The coins of Alexander, struck at Lemnos, Smyrna, Rhodes, and Aspendus, bear the head of Alexander with horns. A medal, struck in honor of Marc Antony, and now in the British Museum, bears his image with ram's horns. When Pythagoras traveled among the Egyptians he was surprised to find that their gods and demons were for the most part identical with those

of the Greeks. The same identity was observed by Herodotus; he also remarked that the Egyptians worshiped human spirits, men and women deified after death for their good actions during life. And Diodorus Siculus, who is better authority than either of the others, tells us that beside the sun, moon, and seven primary planets, which the Egyptians call the eternal gods, they also worshiped as gods such as were taken from the earth and noted for their good deeds.

such matters, said that God was an understanding. Pythagoras called him a living mind, from whom all life emanated. Cleanthes defined him to be air; Anaxagoras an infinite mind, which moved itself. Chrysippus thought he was a natural power. Some of your philosophers were of the opinion that there were no gods. Diagoras and Theodorus affirmed plainly that there was no god at all. Protagoras reported that he had no certainty of the gods, wherefore you, Athenians, banished him out of the empire. Epicurus granted there was a god, but that he was neither liberal nor bountiful, and had no regard for things; that God is no god, but only a cruel and unkind monster; while we Egyptians maintain the goodness of the gods, and that we are of their direct lineage; that they began among us, or that we began among them, and that our ancestors were gods. How superior the position of the Egyptians, who look upon the gods as stable and unchangeable either in art or philosophy, to the fickleness of a system which allows every man to construct his own, or to worship his own conception of them.”¹ Apollonius, smiling at this, said, “O ye sages, what great advantage has accrued to the Egyptians and Ethiopians from the worship of dogs, goats, and bulls?” “I think,” said Thespasian, “there are no

¹ Hera was worshiped in Samos and Thespiæ under the form of a plank; Athene of Lindus as a smooth, unwrought beam; Pallas of Attica as a rough stake, and the Icarian Artemis as a log. Zeus Meilichios, at Sicyon, had a pyramidal form; Zeus Casius was a rock; Apollo Agyieus had the shape of an isosceles triangle, and Hermes exhibited himself as a phallus.—*Herodotus*, ii. 41. The emblem of Isis is that of a woman having horns, as the Greeks make Io.—*Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), i. 498.

people who have been more favored by the gods than the Egyptians. Has not Egypt wrought out a destiny from barbarism to the highest civilization? and without the aid of the gods no nation can attain to any eminence in the art of civilization.”¹

“There was an old Athenian,” said Thespasian, “of the name of Socrates who was as great a fool as we Egyptians.” He thought a dog, a goose, and even a platanus were gods, and he swore by them.”

“He was no fool,” said Apollonius; “he did not

¹ How natural, resting with an unshaken faith upon that noble river, the Nile, and worshiping it as a deity, tolerating all other religions, sending no missionaries or apostles to convert their neighboring heathen, to believe that she was specially favored of the gods. The barbarians of the exterior world gave her no anxiety, for unconsciously they were elevated by the potency of her culture and the consequent abrasion of carrying on a commerce with her, making herself in the mean time not obnoxious to them; sending out no evangelists, asking no help, resorting to no fagot or stake, she rose, flourished, and fell alone, and left a good reputation. And through all the ages that have elapsed since her decline, with all her faults, the world has never produced a nation whose virtues equaled those of the Egyptians. Many nations have been more boastful and pretentious. Greece sent her sons to the banks of the Nile to seek culture, and they succeeded in

transplanting one century of Egyptian philosophy in Greece.—*The Age of the Stoics*. No purer potentates have ever lived on earth than those who ruled in Rome from Nerva to Commodus. But a new and emasculated philosophy had been installed with fire and sword under Constantine, and the world became dim with the dark ages; knowledge was treasured by the few; its pursuit, however, was never entirely suspended, but it struggled, suffered on until, in the thirteenth century, after nearly one thousand years of the most disgraceful terrorism, the little spark was again kindled into a flame, and now, in the nineteenth century, commands the conduct of the world, and demands that the overt acts of superstition and ignorance shall cease; strips the pretentious philosophy of Nazareth naked, and leaves it exposed to the ridicule of mankind.—*Lecture*.

² R. Payne Knight's *Ancient Art*, etc., p. 4.

swear by them as gods,¹ but he swore by them to avoid swearing by the gods.”²

“At all events,” retorted Thespasian, “the Egyptians loved their gods; they were pure. The profanity, grossness, and indecency of the Grecian Olympus were unknown in Egypt. The debaucheries of Silenus and of Pan, the obscenities of Priapus, the frauds of Mercury, the unchastity of Venus, find no counterpart in Egypt.”³

Notwithstanding all the rhetoric of Apollonius and Thespasian, there was no debatable divergence between their respective deities; they were soulless and unimpassioned *things*, and were utterly impotent to inspire reverent emotion. All emotion, however, is purely a human passion, and every spark of the falsely so-called divine enthusiasm is rooted wholly in some human conception. You may visit all the shrines, all the temples, and all the galleries on earth for all times, and the picture, the statue that enthralles whole generations of men, and which will survive the ravages of time, is some monument of human and not divine nobility, quickened into speaking, living, breathing marble, or rehearsed upon the immortal canvas. And priest and hierophant may write till doomsday to prove that there is beauty or ecstasy in the god-element of a statue or a painting, and die without having moved a muscle in the

¹ *Oath explained*, Bryant's *Antient Mythology*, vol. ii. p. 34.

² Stanley's *Life of Socrates*.

“Shallow swears by cock and pye.”—*Shakespeare*.

³ *The Serpent Myths of Ancient Egypt, being a Comparative History*

of these Myths Compiled from the Ritual of the Dead, Egyptian Inscriptions, Papyri and Monuments in the British and Continental Museums, by W. R. Cooper, Hon. Sec. Soc. Bib. Archæology (London, 1873) p. 4, etc.

direction of their effort. It is art only so far as it is implicated with humanity. A god or the gods are to be adored only in proportion as their attributes approximate those of their creator—man; of those Raphael painted, Homer sang, and Boccaccio told immortal tales.¹

The Egyptian gymnosophists had many customs in common with the essenes, therapeutæ, jesuits, and Christian orders of later times. They all begged; were all monkish; had a novitiate period, initiation; abstained from wine, meat; practiced the healing art; held goods in common; took oaths of chastity and poverty; educated the children of strangers, and never left their home in the desert except to beg. The gymnosophists of India, a name given them by the Greeks, their name being Vanaprastha, which signifies hermit,² were the most learned men of antiquity.³ It is true their system was tinctured with magic, but not to the extent that modern astronomy was with astrology, or chemistry with alchemy. The Egyptian hierophants, of whom Apollonius treats, notwithstanding the practice of a stern and pure morality, could not be compared with the ascetical gymnosophist of India either

¹ *Lecture.* The Greek conception of the gods was that they were persons who wore a form precisely like that of man, no more beautiful and no more majestic. It was the highest excellence they tried to express in their statuary of their gods, and this is the explanation of Greek beauty.—*Histoire véritable des temps fabuleux qui contient l'histoire d'Égypte*, par M. Guérin du

Rocher (Paris, 3 vols.), vol. ii. p. 161.

² It is the third stage of Brahminical life; his clothing must be of Kusa grass, must bathe three times a day, must live from alms, must anoint himself with only such unguents as the vegetable world affords.

³ Priaulx, *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Quaritch, Lon.)

in holiness of life or miraculous powers developed in them. By those who knew them they were even held in greater reverence than the magicians of Chaldea.¹ Denying themselves the simplest comforts of life, they dwelt in woods and led lives of the most secluded hermits, while the Egyptian brothers at least congregated together. And, notwithstanding the reproach which history has cast upon all those who practiced magic, it is certain that they possessed the greatest medical skill then known. And many are the volumes preserved in Hindoo convents in which are recorded proofs of their learning. They had fathomed nature to its depths, while physiology and psychology were to them open books. To them the secret power of every plant and mineral was elementary.² The care which they took in educating youth, in familiarizing it with generous and virtuous sentiments, did them peculiar honor, and their maxims and discourses as recorded by historians prove that they were expert in matters of philosophy, metaphysics, astronomy, morality, and religion.³

Among the many discourses of Apollonius to his followers, some were on the relation of the serpent to the healing art.⁴ This subject he had discoursed upon in Spain and Crete, where the serpent was still regarded with veneration.⁵ The subtlety of many human tempers was such that they were compared to a serpent, the most subtle of all living creatures, and

¹ *Philosophy of Magic* (Salverte), *Modern Science and Theology*, by H. P. Blavatsky (2 vols.), vol. i. p. 134.

² Priaulx, *Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Quaritch, London).

p. 90. ⁴ *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology* (Knight), p. 175.

³ *Isis Unveiled: a Master Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and* ⁵ Knight's *Priapus*, pp. 64, 68.

Æsculapius was the only philosopher up to his time who had completely subdued the most obdurate diseases; hence he is always represented as going about, accompanied by a serpent, the symbol of cunning and insidiousness. It is said that Cadmus never died, but was changed to a serpent.¹ Cecrops was of dual nature, human and serpent.² The original god of Delphi was a serpent. The cave of Trophonius was guarded by serpents. All these Apollonius pronounced great superstitions.

Nor have the Egyptians escaped this great scandal. The hooded snake was sacred to them. The great god Thoth was but an impersonation of the serpent. Serpent worship prevailed all over Egypt; it was the symbol of fruitfulness and life-bestowing power of nature.³ "And do you not worship and embalm the serpent and erect for him magnificent tombs." (Apollonius to Thespasian.)⁴

¹ *The Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Myth.* (Knight), p. 150.

² *Same*, p. 159.

³ See Deane's great work: *The Worship of the Serpent Traced Throughout the World, Attesting the Temptation and Fall of Man by the Instrumentality of a Serpent Tempter*, by Rev. Bathurst Deane, M. A., F. R. S. (second edition, London, Remington, 1833); also, *Worship of Priapus*, by R. Payne Knight, Esq., p. 137.

⁴ Thespasian must have been ignorant of the extent of the great superstition, or he never would have permitted this remark of Apollonius

to have passed unanswered, and more especially as the evidence is overwhelming that the worship of the serpent prevailed in its most obnoxious form in Greece. It was also worshiped in Tyre; and Hea, the third person in the Babylonian trinity, was a serpent deity.—Bathurst Deane, *Worship of the Serpent*, p. 419.

To avoid as much as possible the labyrinths of mythic worship, we find that in Epidaurus there was a temple of Æsculapius and a grove connected with it, in which serpents were kept and provided for in the time of Pausanias.—Cf. Knight's *Worship of the Serpent*,

In the ascent of the Nile, which was the most important, in an archæological and theological point of view, and fullest of incident, of all of the travels of Apollonius, save only his journey into India, he visited all

pp. 39, 63, etc. A huge serpent was kept in the temple of this god at Alexandria. The people of Argos, in Greece, held serpents in such veneration, that nobody was allowed to harm them. They were deified and enrolled among the gods.—*Sanchoniathon's Fragments: Essay Toward a Natural History of Serpents* (in two parts, to which is added a third part), by Chas. Owen, D. D. (London, 1742); Philo Biblius, *On Serpent Apotheosis; Observations on the Serpent Myths of Ancient Egypt*, by W. R. Cooper.

At Athens there was a temple dedicated exclusively to the serpent god Erechthonios, whose site the Erectheum now occupies.—*Hyginus Fab.*, 140.

In exploring the antiquities of Rome, we are astonished at the abundant monuments attesting the prevalence of this idolatry.—*Des Divinités Génératrices chez les Anciens et les Modernes* (Paris, Dulaure); cf. *The Royal Museum at Naples, being some Account of the Erotic Paintings, Bronzes, and Statues contained in that Famous "Cabinet Secret,"* by Colonel Fanin (with sixty full-page illustrations, London, 1871, privately printed).

There was the tree worship, but apparently no serpent worship, in Germany. The Samogitæ, the Poles,

had both. Both occur throughout Scandinavia. The evidence of sculptured stones admit of it in Scotland and Ireland. But Africa was the hot-bed of this superstition, where it was rife, with as much vigor as it had been in Epidaurus.—*History of Egypt, from the Earliest Times till the Conquest of the Arabs, A. D. 640*, by Samuel Sharpe (Moxon, London, 2 vols., 1859), vol. i. p. 17, etc.; cf. *Ancient Symbol Worship: Influence of the Phallic Idea in the Religion of Antiquity*, by Hodder M. Westropp and C. Stainland Wake, etc. (London, 1874). And among the Dahomas it exists to-day associated with human sacrifice. Human sacrifice also prevailed in America (Peru and Mexico) in the sacraments of this religion, and in India human beings were immolated in its observance.

Let us go further afield. On the west coast of Africa is the kingdom of Whidah, where the serpent was till recently worshiped by two different people, or tribes; and, although violent antagonisms existed as to the qualities of their respective deities or their mode of worshiping them, they each agreed in this: that a human sacrifice was the most acceptable offering to their serpent deity. These people also held that

the historic places on both sides, as well as some of the mountainous country on the right of, and more distant from, the Nile, making observations on things most remarkable. He ascended as far as the great cataract,

the most effectual of all sacraments to appease their angered deity was a self-immolated victim or a vicarious sacrifice. This same notion also prevailed among the Chinese, Ceylonese, Hindoos, Polynesians, and Egyptians.—Cf. *Prehistoric Traditions and Customs in Connection with Sun and Serpent Worship*, by John S. Phene, LL. D., F. S. A. (London, 1875); Jacob Bryant's *New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology, wherein an Attempt is made to divest Tradition of Fable and to reduce Truth to its Original Purity* (3 vols. 4to, London), vol. i. p. 473; see Ferguson's work, *Tree and Serpent Worship, or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India in the First and Fourth Centuries A. D., from the Sculptures of the Buddhist Temples of Sanchi and Amaravati*, by James Ferguson, F. R. S., M. R. A. S. (1868).

Ferguson says that serpent worship and human sacrifice were co-existent in India, but were not a part of the same sacrament as they were in Pelasgic times in Greece, in Rome, Carthage, Phœnicia, and Egypt.—Bryant's *Analysis*, vol. i. p. 440. In all of these localities the serpent, as the Agatho-Dæmon, provider of health, fortune, and revealer of knowledge, points directly to human sacrifice as the most precious

propitiatory offering.—Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v. p. 261; also, *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology* (R. Payne Knight, Esq.), p. 12. This practice was carried to a fearful extent with the Druids.—Deane's *Worship of the Serpent*, p. 450.

The trinity of the Dahomas is identical with that of the ancient Athenians of three thousand years ago, serpent, tree, and ocean, Erechthonios, Olive, and Poseidon. Solomon reprobates the practice so prevalent in his day in the following language: "They worshiped serpents void of reason."—Cf. Godfrey Higgins's *Anacalypsis*, p. 158; *Prehistoric Traditions and Customs in Connection with Sun and Serpent Worship*, by John S. Phene, LL. D., F. S. A., F. G. S. (London, 1875).

I must, however, close this note; the subject is absolutely endless. In Mexico they had Quetzalcoatl, the great feathered serpent of Anahuac, who taught the Aztecs laws and religion, as the serpent Cecrops taught the Greeks. The great pyramid Cholula, in Mexico, was dedicated to him. The same character in Yucatan was called Kukulcan. Huitzilpoctli and Tezcatlipoca were gods associated with serpent worship and human sacrifice in America; and, besides all the above (see

and returned to Alexandria, after an absence of eight years from the crowning of Vespasian (A. D. 70). He then made an uneventful journey along the sea-coast of Egypt, as far west as the province of Pentapolis,

Deane's *Serpent Worship*, p. 110, etc.), it was represented by Votan in Guatemala, Pazuma in Paraguay, Manco Copac in Peru, Amalivaca among the Tamaracs, Hiawatha with the Dakotahs, Ndenger with the Feejeeans, Buddah in India (Naga worship), Fohi in China, Zoroaster in Persia, Osiris, Isis, and Serapis in Egypt, Hermes and Æsculapius in Greece, Juno and Minerva in Rome (Juno is represented holding a serpent in her right hand, and Minerva was sometimes attended by a serpent), Odin in Scandinavia, and Hu among the Bretons.—Cf. *Vestiges of the Spirit-History of Man*, by S. F. Dunlap, c. iii.; also, *Serpent and Siva Worship and Mythology in Central America, Africa, and Asia, and the Origin of Serpent Worship* (two Treatises, edited by Alexander Wilder); also, *The Serpent Symbol and the Worship of the Reciprocal Principles of Nature in America*, by E. G. Squier, A. M. (New York, 1841).

From what has been said, it would seem that the most universal of all religions was the absurd serpent worship and its consequent, the reciprocal, principle in nature.—Knight's *Priapus*, p. 105.

It is the only religion known to have been universal, and it existed until the very establishment of Chris-

tianity, and from which Christianity cannot claim complete exemption.—Knight's *Priapus*, p. 107.

Manes, a celebrated Christian heretic of the third century, declared the mysteries into which he had been initiated as a Christian taught that Christ was an incarnation of the serpent; and the essenes and the gnostics of the first century taught that the ruler of the world was of Draconic origin.—Fales's *Pagan Idolatry*, vol. i. p. 451; also, Bryant's *Annals*, ii. p. 91; Deane's *Serpent Worship*, p. 160; *Gnostics, and Their Remains*, etc. (King), pp. 22-171; *History of the Cross: The Pagan Origin, etc., of the Image*, by Henry D. Ward, M. A., p. 14, et seq.

The description and history of a great Christian church structure may not be inappropriate here as showing the innovation of this absurd superstition upon our day and theology (see *Serpent Symbol in America*, by E. G. Squier). And a careful analysis may develop more of the Æsculapian superstition basic to our theology than as superficial believers we are prepared to admit. What is said of this great Christian structure may in some degree be said of nearly every similar structure in existence.—*Godfrey Higgins*, p. 158. "The chancel and

and returned to Alexandria during the last sickness of Vespasian.

From Alexandria Apollonius traveled into the East, the country of the Idumeans, Phœnicians, Syrians

communion table," said he, "were in the extreme end of the edifice, for the purpose, as Vitruvius has said, that the act of devotion should be performed facing the rising sun,—creator,—whose symbol was the universal serpent, from pagan Peru to Christian Rome. The first thing on entering was the serpent,—it trailed and coiled everywhere [*Ancient Symbol Worship; Influence of the Phallic Idea in the Religions of Antiquity*, etc., by Hodder M. Westropp and C. Stainland Wake (New York, 1874)]; it was the principal decoration of the great chandelier that hung from the ceiling; it served as a bracket against the pillar to sustain the lamps; it coiled in symbolic folds around the pedestal of the symbolic octagonal font which held the symbolic water of eternal youth, elixir of life; it was painted twining around the cross, or lying torpid at the foot of it [*Ancient Pagan and Modern Symbolism Exposed and Explained*, by Thomas Inman, M. D. (1869)]; the triune convoluted columns supporting the Gothic gallery were constructed in the form of it."—*The Gnostics and Their Remains, Ancient and Mediæval*, by W. C. King, M. A. (1864), p. 227. All this in a Christian church. And now, whence came it there, and how?

From what damp grotto temples and dim ruins of antiquity had it crept forth to the world's gaze? —*History of the Cross; the Pagan Origin and Idolatrous Adoption and Worship of the Image*, by H. Dana Ward (1872), p. 230. How many sloughings of its skin had it undergone during the thousands of years occupied in crawling into America, Polynesia, Eastern Asia, India, Persia, Greece, Egypt, and Rome? How has it survived its wonderful experiences of idolatry, alternately savage and refined? The fearful worship of barbarity; the cabalistic homage of the Orientals; bruised by the seed of the woman; lifted up as a healing saviour by Moses; enduring the curses and blessings of the nations (Baldwin's *Ancient America*, p. 130); at one time the symbol of darkness, at another the symbol of light; now adored as a god, benevolent, then despised as a demon, malevolent; here associated with death, there with immortality; now symbolizing prodigal nature overflowing with profuse life, then malevolently destroying every germ.

Whether these are answered, or remain unanswered, the old reptile of immutable duration still lives, and is yet doing symbolic service as faithfully in a Christian church as he did in the pagan temples de-

(Antioch), Silicians (Tarsus), and afterward into Ionia, closely observing the habits, customs, and religion of the people; Damis, in the mean time, recording everything worthy of preservation.

On the death of Vespasian¹ Titus, then being in Judea, having reduced Jerusalem, set out for Rome

scribed by Apollonius.—Cf. *Magna Deum Matris Idææ et Attidis Initia Ex vetustis monumentis nuper Tornaci Nerviorum erutis* (Auctore Laurentio Pignorio Canonico Tarvisino, Amstelodami, 1669); cf. *The Lotus of the Ancients*, by M. C. Cook, M. D.; *Monumental Christianity, or the Art and Symbolism of the Primitive Church as Witnesses and Teachers of Our Catholic Faith and Practice*, by John Lundy (1876); *The Veil of Isis, or Mysteries of the Druids*, by Winwood Reade (London, 1861); *The Mythology and Rites of the British Druids, Ascertained by National Documents, and Compared with the General Traditions and Customs of Heathenism*, by Edward Davis (1809).

Apollonius affirms that the serpent worshipers came from the East, that they were first navigators of the sea and children of the sun, and in their progress first settled in Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, Samos, Lesbos, Thrace, Eubœa, and Attica.—*A New System, or an Analysis of Antient Mythology*, etc., by Jacob Bryant (London, 1774, 3 vols.), vol. ii. p. 165; *The Symbolic Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*, by R. Payne Knight

(1876), p. 142; Dulaure, *Histoire des différents Cultes; des Cultes qui ont précédé et amené l'Idolatrie ou l'adoration des figures humaines*, etc. (Paris, 2 vols., 1825).

On a coin representing the apotheosis of Cleopatra is a serpent upon the regal diadem, which subsequently gave rise to the popular story of her death.

From the testimony of coins and medals exclusively, we can establish serpent worship in Phœnicia from the winged disk which is represented on these coins. Hercules and Syracuse were famous for it. On the ancient medals of Naples it is again repeated. On a very ancient Phœnician medal the disk and wings are of a somewhat different form; they resemble the Jewish cherubim. Much curiosity has been elicited from this remarkable piece. Prof. Swinton read a paper upon it, which was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* (1860). It is now in R. Payne Knight's collection.

¹ Vespasian, who had passively submitted to the absurd preparation of his apotheosis, observed, when he felt himself ebbing away: "I think I am becoming a god."

to fill the place of his father (A. D. 79).¹ During the pilgrimages of Apollonius great transformation had taken place at the capital. Rome had been destroyed in a popular tumult and rebuilt. Vespasian had dedicated a temple to Peace, and commenced the Flavian amphitheater, Coliseum. Helvidius Priscus, the stoic, having offended Vespasian, had been put to death. All the philosophers, except Musonius Rufus, had been driven out of Rome. Demetrius had been expelled, Sabinus Cæcina and Marcellus had been inhumanly butchered.²

On his way to Rome Titus was declared emperor, and invested with imperial dignity, being the first prince who had succeeded by hereditary right. Desiring a conference with Apollonius, Titus requested that he should meet him at Argos.³ On their meeting Titus embraced him, and said: "My father before he died gave me instructions concerning you, and all he wished you to know; he considered you his benefactor. I am now only thirty years of age, and have attained the same honors my father did at sixty. I am called upon to govern, who am yet unconscious that I have learned to obey. What advice, O Tyanean, have you to give concerning my conduct in governing an

¹ In answer to a letter from Apollonius, Titus replied: "In my own name, and in the name of my country, I give you thanks, and will be mindful of those things to which you so nobly called my attention." — Philostratus, *Concerning the Life of Apollonius Tyaneus*.

² Suetonius, *Vespasian*.

³ *Apollonius de Tyane* (Chassang), p. 274. This meeting probably did not take place at Argos but at Argus, a fortress of Cappadocia, near Nova in Cilicia, as this was the route taken by Titus on his way to Rome, and Apollonius appears to have been in this part of the country, and not in Greece, at that time.

empire?" "None," answered Apollonius; "you have abundant example before you. There is an old saying of Archytas,¹ in a treatise composed by him on the subject of education: 'Let the virtues of a father be an example for imitation to his sons, and his frailties a barrier for their evasion.' During the life of your father you have had to guard against enemies. Now that you are master of yourself, I advise you to guard with prudence and circumspection against your most intimate friends; for, of all men, I think it is your duty to be on your guard. And that you may be forewarned of approaching danger, I recommend to you, as a companion and counselor, the philosopher Demetrius, the cynic."²

On hearing the word "cynic" Titus was troubled; but Apollonius replied: "Homer thought Telemachus wanted two dogs to attend him as companions in the councils of the Ithacans, on account of his youth. But I will give you the cynic Demetrius, who will bark for you against yourself if in anything you offend, and this he will always do in wisdom, and never without reason." "Give me, then," said Titus, "this companion, with permission to bite me, and at all times criticise wisely and fearlessly all my public and private acts, and ever ready to warn me of danger; not as an informer, nor as a flatterer."³

¹ The son of Hestæus of Tarentum; he was a follower of Pythagoras, an able astronomer and geometrician. He redeemed his master Plato from the hands of the tyrant Dionysius. He was seven

times chosen by his fellow-citizens Governor of Tarentum. He perished by shipwreck (394 B. C.)

² Demetrius had been banished from Italy by Vespasian.

³ *Diss. de Tito Imp.* (J. H. Jung).

Apollonius then wrote to Demetrius the following letter :

“Apollonius the Philosopher to the Cynic Demetrius.

“Health—I give you to the Emperor Titus, in order that you may instruct him in all royal virtues. Justify what I have said of you to him, and be everything to him ; but everything without anger. Farewell.”¹

Titus ruled in Rome until his murder by his brother Domitian (A. D. 81). The great fire in Rome happened in the second year of the reign of Titus. It consumed the temples of Serapis and Isis, and of Neptune, the baths of Agrippa and Septa, the great theater of Balbus and Pompey, the library of Augustus, and the temple of Jupiter.

It was probably fortunate for the memory of Titus that he had so brief a reign. He died just soon enough to retain the merited appellation of the “Delight of Mankind.”² Apollonius accredits him with being a good man, and as exemplary a ruler as his surroundings would permit. The festivities instituted by him on the completion of the Coliseum were as ridiculous and absurd as they were expensive ; five thousand wild beasts were let into the arena and killed by gladiators ;³ this was but one of the brutal extravagances of that

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie*, etc. (Chassang), p. 276.

² I believe that Philostratus is not the only author who claims that Titus was poisoned by Domitian. He was poisoned by eating *lepus marinus*, a fish from which issues a

deadly poison, administered under the direction of Domitian, who also murdered Clemens, the consul, though his own cousin, and married to a woman who was also a relative.—*Suetonius*.

³ *Vespasien et Tite* (Rolland, 1830).

great festival, out of which Titus reaped nothing but disgrace.¹ It was Titus's dying regret that he had not made provisions to exclude his unworthy brother Domitian from the throne.²

At this time (A. D. 70), Apollonius being at Antioch, the governor of Syria was stirring up seditions and sowing dissensions among the citizens, by means of which the peace of the city was greatly disturbed and divided into factions; and, to augment the already unsettled state of affairs, the city and country round about were this year visited by a violent shock of an earthquake, which terrified the inhabitants, and many of them fled for safety out of the city. Apollonius declared it was the manifestation of a god for the restoration of peace. These shocks were felt in all the towns situate on the left side of the Hellespont, which created great alarm among the people. And certain Egyptians and Chaldeans, taking advantage of the alarm, went up and down through them, collecting what money they could under a pretense of offering to Neptune and Tellus a sacrifice which would cost ten

¹ There is every evidence that Titus labored to restore the ancient confidence in the empire, and the dignity of his predecessors; he even recoined their money to preserve their memory. These coins were called *restituti*, and are much prized by collectors. His subjugation of Judea was typed in nearly all of the coins minted by him, and were inscribed, IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P.M. TR. P.P.P. CO. VIII. Translated Imperator, Titus, Cæsar

Vespasian Augustus; High Pontiff, Father of his country, Consul for the eighth time.—*Histoire des Empereurs romains depuis Jules César jusqu'à Postumus, avec les médailles d'argent*, etc. (J. B. Haulten, Paris, 1646), art. Titus.

Many of the coins of Titus were struck during the life-time of his father; TI. on his coins stands for Tiberius; T. stands for Titus always.

² Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman History*, b. vii. 120.

talents. The authorities of the towns and individuals, whilst under the impression of terror, contributed what they could from their public and private funds ; these cheats having declared that no sacrifice could be offered till the money was lodged in the hands of their bankers. Apollonius, learning of this new tribulation of the Hellespontines, hastened through their towns and exposed the villainies of these wandering impostors, who were making gain of the misfortunes of the people. Then, inquiring into the cause of the anger of these gods, he offered the proper expiatory sacrifice, and by this means averted the danger which hung over them at a small expense, and the earth had some rest.

From Antioch Apollonius traveled by land into Issus, where Alexander achieved his great victory over Darius, and thence to Tarsus, where he had been put at school when a youth. Tarsus is said to have been the birthplace of St. Paul ; also of the stoics, Antipater, Chrysippus, Archedamus, and Nestor ; and of the grammarians, Artemidorus and Diodorus ; and of the botanist, Dioscorides. It was a great center of learning and science.

Of old, the people of Tarsus bore no kindness to Apollonius,¹ because of his persistent reproaches for their manifold conceits and ostentations. These chidings were not adapted to their sensitive natures. Now, however, at the time of this visit in his old age, they had become to love and respect him as much as if he had been the founder of their city, having learned that his early reproaches were for their good, and, moreover, because his fame had reached them from all parts of the world.

¹ *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie*, etc. (Chassang), p. 264.

When Domitian ascended the throne and began to show signs of the same morbid vanity and cruelty which had characterized Nero,¹ Apollonius at once commenced to travel up and down the empire, sowing everywhere the seeds of discontent and rebellion against the crowned monster.² Here again we find Apollonius trying his hand at politics, a science in which most philosophers had proved themselves imprudent and unskillful. Had he and the brother philosophers of his day confined themselves to their legitimate calling of teaching and lecturing, and left politics alone, these emperors, although monsters of inhumanity, would probably never have disturbed them. But many thought it the duty of the philosophers to inveigh against the political corruptions of the age, against the reigning power, and to stir up the multitude and introduce reformatory measures. Irritated by the boldness and encouragement which the opposition to his tyranny found among the adherents of stoicism was undoubtedly the cause of Nero's hostility to philosophy, and which also drove Vespasian to banish the stoics from Rome. They, however, were permitted to return under Domitian, when they were again exiled from Rome for a similar offense; a few, probably, were executed. It has been said, and no doubt with a great deal of truth, that it was dangerous to possess talent and employ it to any nobler purpose than that of the most obsequious and degrading flattery of royalty during the reigns of the dark and suspicious Tiberius, the insane Caligula, the simple

¹ Eutropius's *Abridgment of Roman History*, b. vii. 123.

² *Leuain de Tillemont*, p. 26, etc.

Claudius, and the sanguinary Nero, who were the mere tools of rascally freedmen and women.

And yet, while these emperors were besottedly selfish and cruel, they no doubt desired to make their reigns peaceable and popular, and to this end they believed that they must rid the empire of all opposition by exile or execution rather than by conciliation. They sought to secure peace to the country by visiting vengeance rather than clemency and magnanimity upon their enemies, and it is quite true that magnanimity had proved but indifferently successful. For even the philosophers made provoking display of their superior virtues, and treated royalty with contempt, save in time of imminent peril. "I know," says Philostratus, "whoever pleases may consider all that Apollonius did against Nero was a matter of mere ostentation, inasmuch as he did not raise the standard of revolt and march out in battle array against him, but managed to keep himself out of harm's way; while at the same time it is well known that he boldly and defiantly gave comfort and encouragement to Vindex in the Spanish insurrection, and in the reproaches he poured out against Tigellinus wonderfully weakened his power. I know also that his attack upon Nero, let what may be said of it, required great courage. Although Nero was weak and frail of mental constitution, and led publicly only the life of a player on the harp or lyre, yet he was revengeful and possessed arbitrary power, and his jurisdiction was without limit."¹

But this was not all true of Domitian. He was a man of robust mental and physical constitution,

¹ Cf. *Suetonii Tranquilli*, c. vii. p. 159.

of a morose and jealous temper, an enemy to all the pleasures which tend to soften man's rugged nature, a monster whose luxury of delight was derived from the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures and whatever gave them pain,¹ who said that the distrust of the people toward tyrants, and tyrants toward the people, was the phylactery or charm that supported power, and maintained that it was during the night an emperor should cease from all work except that of death and slaughter. Hence it came to pass that the senate was mutilated of its best members, and philosophy so panic-stricken that many of its professors fled in disguise to the farthest parts of Gaul, others to the deserts of Lybia and Scythia, and some there were who embraced the doctrines most suitable to their personal safety and the fashionable vices of the age.²

Whenever Apollonius was reproached by his friends for the unwise course he was pursuing during this imperial terrorism, he replied, "My only answer to Domitian is the language of Tiresias in the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, 'I am Apollo's subject, and not thine.'" He always considered wisdom his sovereign mistress, and defended liberty even under Domitian. He entertained no fears for his own life, feeling that he had nearly run his course, but he was deeply affected with what caused the misfortunes of others. And although many were going into involuntary exile, Apollonius

¹ Tacitus says: "It was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant and to be seen by him, while he kept a register of our sighs and groans. *Cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur.*"

² When Domitian was emperor,

the philosophers were, by a decree of the senate, driven out of the city and banished from Italy. At such time Epictetus, the stoic, went from Rome to Nicopolis on account of this decree.—*Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticæ* (Beloe, 1795).

determined to remain and take up arms for the good of Rome against Domitian, as he had done against Nero, although well knowing that Domitian would condemn him to destruction. But, like Zeus, the inventor of logic, who, when taken in the very act of planning the destruction of Nearchus, and put to the rack, confessed against the tyrant's most intimate friends as accomplices, who were put to death and he thereby disarmed. Plato declares that he entered into the design of restoring liberty to the Syracusans by acting as an accomplice with Dion, who was at the head of it, while he was also in favor at court.

Phyton, when forced to quit Rhegium, fled to Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, by whom he was admitted to a greater share of confidence than an exile ought, by which he became acquainted with the tyrant's secrets; and having learned that he designed making himself master of Rhegium, he gave information of it to the citizens by letters and was discovered. Dionysius ordered him to be fastened to one of his own machines, which he had directed to be advanced to the walls, believing that the Rhegians would not attack it with offensive weapons out of regard to Phyton; but he cried out, "Spare me not, for I am the signal of your liberty."¹ And so had Apollonius determined, let what might befall himself, to cripple the resources of the tyrant for evil by every act in his power, so long as liberty to act was left him. Plutarch had been banished from Rome.² His crime was applause of the frugality of Vespasian, the leniency of Titus, and

¹ *Philostratus de Vita Apollonii Tyanæi Scriptor, Luculentus a Phillippo Bernaldo Castigatus* (1502), p. 191.

² *Treatise on Exile*, Plutarch.

deploring the vices, follies, and crimes of their successor and reformer, Domitian. No one can read Plutarch and not discover his sorrowing over the degradation of his time; while he appears to the casual observer as tacitly drifting with the corrupt current.¹ Dion Chrysostom had also retired into exile.² Martial, on the other hand, had sung the praises of Domitian, and exalted him to the skies for destroying the palace of Nero, throwing open the gardens to the public, and erecting an amphitheater on the site. He says: "The portico of Claudia covers with its shades the remains of that palace which is now no more. Rome is restored to herself, and under your auspices, Cæsar, what were the enjoyments of the people?" In another passage of the *De Spectaculis* he expatiates on the splendor of the new amphitheater, declaring that "neither the pyramids nor the palaces of Babylon, nor the temple of Diana, nor the mausoleum, could compare with it."

Domitian had put to death three vestal virgins, who, it was charged, had violated their oath of chastity. He put to death Sabinus, one of his relatives, and married Julia, his widow and his own niece, she being one of his brother Titus's daughters. On account of this marriage, the people of Ephesus offered a public sacrifice. Apollonius was present, and was heard to exclaim, "O night of the Danaids, how singular hast thou been!"³

¹ Suetonius, *Lives of Eminent Rhetoricians*, p. 524. daughters of Danaus, who put to death their fifty husbands, their

² *Apollonius de Tyane, sa Vie*, etc. (Chassang), p. 216. cousins,—one only excepted, Hyp-
ermnestra, who saved her husband

³ The Danaids were the fifty Lynceus.

During the reign of Titus, Apollonius had corresponded with Nerva, with Salvidrenus Orfitus, and with Lucius Minucius Rufus (consul with Domitian, A. D. 88) on subjects of philosophy and morality; the two latter he had attached to the interest of Nerva on account of their good character, and alienated them from Domitian on account of his tyranny, and encouraged them to stand forth in defense of liberty. But he now deemed it unsafe to carry on any epistolary correspondence whatever, as it was a fact that many of the most powerful citizens were betrayed by their slaves, their friends, and their wives; in short, there was not a house to be found into which it was safe to intrust a secret.

Apollonius was fully apprised of this and for his companions chose only such as he thought most to be depended upon for prudence. In a short time, however, he was informed that Orfitus and Rufus had been banished to the islands and Nerva ordered not to leave Tarentum.¹

On this information Apollonius began to suspect that an early demand would be made for his attendance at court, and he determined not to have it to regret that he had wasted his time in the idle dream that he might pass unnoticed, or that he might secure imperial clemency. He therefore at once repaired to Smyrna, on the Melis, and commenced a series of discourses on

¹ If Nerva was banished, as is pretty well confirmed by history, he must have returned the same or the following year, for Dion Cassius says he was in Rome when Domitian was murdered. Nay, that writer makes no mention of the banishment of Nerva, which causes us to suspect that Philostratus was right and the other historians wrong concerning the banishment of Nerva.

"Fate and Necessity," having special reference to the present state of affairs at Rome. Near the grove where he held forth stood a brazen statue of Domitian, and on one occasion, when he had the eyes of the spectators turned in that direction, said: "Thou fool, how little understandest thou the decrees of Fate and Necessity!" These words were carried to Domitian by the informer Euphrates, who had been secretly sent to entrap Apollonius.

Domitian, although an execrable emperor, was not a man destitute of all taste and culture, as Nero, nor so despicable a monster as Caligula. He maintained the finest botanical garden in the world, and endeavored to reëstablish the great Roman empire. He indeed dreaded and banished the philosophers; so had his father, and more than one of his imperial predecessors. Their banishment, perhaps, at this crisis, was a state necessity, because they harbored dreams of liberty, and were often engaged in conspiracies against the Cæsars.

Domitian built a temple at Rome to Isis, and another to Serapis, and fostered the Egyptian worship. And with such eagerness did the Romans accept these new deities, and in such demand did the pictures of the virgin mother, goddess Isis, with her infant son, Horus Saviour, on her lap, become (according to Juvenal), that all the Roman painters lived upon painting the group—Madonna and Child. Her temple in the Campus Martius (now a Christian chapel) was supplied with holy water from the Nile to purify the building and her votaries, and a regular college of priests

were maintained.¹ Apollonius had been secretly advocating the cause of Nerva, knowing that he was to succeed Domitian; and Domitian, hearing of this, had determined to put them both to death. Whilst he was considering this, and writing to the pro-consul of Asia to have Apollonius apprehended and brought to Rome, the Tyanean was making arrangements to appear voluntarily, being apprised of it all as usual by means of his dæmon.² He had already told his friends that he was going to take a very singular journey. Not knowing to what he referred, some of them called to mind the story of the ancient Abaris, and thought he was to perform a similar journey.³

However, without communicating his intention to even Damis, he took passage on a ship bound from Smyrna to Achaia. Their ship touched at Chio, a flourishing city of the island of Chios,⁴ second in com-

¹ *Juvenalis Sat.*, xii. 28; *Ibid.* vi. 427; *Ibid.* xii. 364; *Isis Unveiled*, vol. ii. p. 10; *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 50; *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 95; *Symbolic Language of Ancient Art and Mythology* (Knight), p. 147; cf. *Serpent Myths of Ancient Egypt*; also, *History of the Cross* (Ward); *Sun and Serpent Worship* (Phene).

² Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, and the stoics considered the dæmons to be physical beings; that the heroes are souls separated from the bodies; some are good, some are bad, and the bad those whose souls are worthless.—Plutarch, *Sentiments which Delighted Philosophers*, i. 8. "The great mind of Zeus who loveth

men disposeth for thee, the Demon."—*Pindar Pyth.*, v. 164. "Men are good and wise as the Demon orders."—*Olympia*, xi. 41. Cf. Plutarch, *Discourse Concerning the Demon of Socrates*, ii. 4.

³ Iamblicus tells us that Apollo invested the Hyperborean Abaris with the power of flying through the air on a magical arrow, whithersoever he pleased. Bayle laughs at the idea of Abaris making his entry into Athens riding on a broomstick. Ὡς τὸν ῥοιπὸν περιέφερε.

⁴ Chios was the native place of Theocritus, Theopompus, and Glaukos, who invented the method of soldering iron (σιδηροῦ κόλλησις).

mercial importance to Smyrna. Here they took in cargo for Corinth. Remaining but a few hours, they again made sail, and stood westward and southward over the Ægean sea, and in five days landed at Cenchreæ on the Saronic gulf, a sea-port of Corinth. The Isthmian games in honor of Poseidon,¹ which were celebrated here every second year, were now being solemnized. It was near Cenchreæ that the famous temple and statue to this god were located; also a temple and statue to Venus. Apollonius did not remain to see the festival completed, but proceeded at once, overland, to Corinth (six English miles). Nearly the whole of this distance is a suburb of that city. They passed the monument of Diogenes, the cynic of Sinope, a temple of Venus Melanis, the tomb of Lais, to whom her fellow-citizens paid almost divine honors, and the tomb of the children of Medea, Pheres and Mermerus. They spent the night in the temple of Apollo, near the market-place, which is surrounded by the temples of the Ephesian Artemis, of Fortune, and of Jupiter Capitolinus, and statues standing in the open air. One is of Pallas, another of Diana, made in bronze. In the Forum there is also a bronze statue of Minerva, at the foot of which are statues of the Muses; and just out-

¹ Banier's *Mythology and Fables*, vol. iv. p. 436. The Isthmian games were an ancient ceremony of the worship of Melkarth, of Phœnician origin; it was afterward modified into the Ionic worship of Poseidon. The festival at this time was under the management of the Corinthians, and was something after

the method of the Olympian and Pythian games, but was celebrated every two years. The Athenians were closely connected with the festival, and had the privilege of the foremost seats, while the Eleians were entirely excluded. The games were gymnastic, equestrian, musical, etc.; the prize, a crown of parsley.

side of the Forum is a temple dedicated to Octavia, sister of Augustus. Corinth is noted for the number of its statues and beauty of its public baths. But it had suffered more spoliation at the hands of the Romans than any other Grecian city. About two hundred years before the time of Apollonius she had been sacked and absolutely depopulated. Julius and Augustus Cæsar had raised it to its present glory.

The next day, at noon, having made his vows, as Apollonius always did at midday to the sun in the temple of Apollo, he made preparations to depart, not desiring to stay in Corinth, which, he says, was a nest of harlots. The great cause of the looseness of morals at Corinth, Apollonius says, was the forcible introduction and detention of female slaves into the temples of Aphrodite, making them worse than common brothels.¹

He proceeded the same day to Lechæum, the harbor or sea-port of Corinth, on the Corinthiacus Sinus. The road taken by Apollonius and his followers began at the market-place, and led north to Lechæum; it first passed the Propylæa, surmounted by Phaeton and Helois; next was the grotto of Pierene. At Lechæum, Apollonius embraced the opportunity of inspecting the great canal of Nero,² work upon which had now, however, been entirely suspended; it had proceeded only about three stadia (600 yards) from the harbor.

Finding a vessel ready, they embarked, and set sail the same evening for Sicily and Italy, with a fair wind and a calm sea; their voyage was without incident, and

¹ A thousand sacred prostitutes were kept in each of these temples.—Knight's *Worship of the Priapus*, p. 104.

² A ship-canal across the Corinthian isthmus.

they arrived on the seventh day at Dicæarchia (Puteoli), the residence of the philosopher Demetrius of Sunium, who had formerly lived some time at Corinth, and where Apollonius met him fifteen years previous. He had been banished from Italy by Nero, and recalled and recommended to Titus by Apollonius as a desirable adviser, and was again under royal displeasure. When Apollonius met his old friend, who, in living so near Rome, had displayed more courage than some of the brethren, although Apollonius knew that he meant to keep Domitian at arm's length, he said to him, in way of jest, "I am happy to surprise you, Demetrius, in the midst of pleasures and political security, in the most charming spot in all Italy,¹ within sight of the delightful island Capreæ, to which the virtuous Tiberius retired for expiation; and also within hearing and sight of the eternally contending elements of Vesuvius; in the country where Ulysses is said to have forgotten, in the company of Calypso, the smoke of Ithaca, and his family and household gods."² Whereupon Demetrius embraced him, and, first deprecating the omen, said: "What injury will not philosophy receive if a man like this should suffer?" "What danger," asked Apollonius, "is it to which you allude?" "None, I am sure," returned Demetrius, "but what you are prepared for; for if I don't know you I don't know myself; but let us not talk here, let us retire to a more private place; yet Damis is not to be excluded, whom, by Hercules, I look on as the

¹ No spot in Italy was more desirable for country-seats of the nobility than the immediate neighborhood of Puteoli.

² *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients* (Banier), vol. i. p. 300.

Iolaus of your labors.”¹ They retired to a house not far from the town which had formerly belonged to Cicero,² for since the death of Herennius and Arulenes, A. D. 90, another order was issued for all philosophers and mathematicians to leave Rome and Italy. Epictetus had withdrawn to Nicopolis and Dio Prusæus retired among the Goths. Great circumspection was, therefore, necessary in their interviews. In the course of a conversation which lasted several hours Apollonius said, “What is it you would advise me to do in order to best compose my fears?” “Do not jest with me,” returned Demetrius, “nor affect fear when you have none.” “Would you,” asked Apollonius, “try to make your escape were you circumstanced as I am?” “I would not, I swear it by Minerva,” said Demetrius, “if I had any hope of getting a fair trial. But we have neither law nor justice, nor a judge to hear any defense; and were he even to hear it, would have you put to death though you should be proven innocent. Nor do I deem

¹ A son of Iphiclus, king of Thes-saly, who assisted Hercules in conquering the Hydra.

² Cicero is said to have had eighteen villas in various parts of Italy. There were probably not over ten. The one in question was his Cuman villa, less than a mile from Puteoli. It was here that Cicero did his finest work. There is no doubt, from his letters, that Cicero was very partial to these enchanting shores; and yet he makes complaint to Atticus of the frequent intrusion of idle visitors. All this would seem to indicate that Ro-

manelli was mistaken and Apollonius correct, concerning this villa of Cicero. On the island of Capræa, distant about fourteen miles from Puteoli, Tiberius had ten villas, and it was to one of these he retreated after he had crushed the conspiracy of Sejanus, and in which he died. Many fine marbles have been unearthed on this island—as the Juno of Tiberius, Cybele of Tiberius, Vesta of Tiberius. It is said that no man ever lived who was so thoroughly bad in principle.—*C. Suetonii Tranquilli*, vol. i. p. 561, *et seq.*

it unworthy a man to die for his philosophy. But the death which I conceive to be worthy of a philosopher is, when he dies in the act of giving liberty to his country, or in avenging his parents or friends, or those whom love has procured and united to him. But to die a cold and ignoble death out of vanity for a cause little approved of, but contumaciously adhered to, and thereby give the tyrant a pretense to think that he acted right, would be a severer punishment than being whirled aloft in the air on a wheel, Ixion-like, and infinitely less luxurious than that of the good Aquillius who was put to death by Mithridates by pouring molten gold down his throat. A strong point in your defense will be your voluntary appearance in court, which you suppose will be placed to the account of a good conscience. And even this may fail you, for Domitian may be as keen in detecting subtlety in philosophers as philosophers are in predicating artlessness in emperors, a quality for which our beloved Domitian has never been considered eminent. It is not more than ten days since you were cited, and here you are within two days of Rome, ready for trial before any time has been thought of for hearing you; what think you will be the consequence of all this? It will probably be considered a full confirmation of the charge of sorcery and foreknowledge. Beware of such coming to pass. If you have not forgotten the days of Nero you will call to remembrance my situation and that I was not one who wanted the courage to die. There were days in Nero's life which admitted of some relaxation, some respite from cruelty and murder; for if the harp of Nero always infamed the decorum becoming the imperial character, it sometimes, nevertheless,

tended to mitigate its severity. Hence we had a truce with blood, a cessation with slaughter in my crisis, and I was not put to death, though the sentence was suspended over me, and I was spared simply because Nero had succeeded in a favorite song, which he thought he had sung to admiration; he was too much in love with himself to visit cruelty upon others. But you will never be called upon to sacrifice to sweet sounds under Domitian, for he neither derives comfort from himself, nor from any other person; there is no corner in his organism given over to the Muses, he is full of discord and black bile.¹

“You see many ships in the harbor, of which some are bound for Libya, Egypt, and Phœnicia, others for Cyprus and Sardinia, and some even for far more distant lands. I should think it wise for you to go aboard one of them, and sail to whatever country you like; for you will be charged as an accomplice in the crime for which Nerva and his companions have been banished. And you ought not to forget the situation of those men (Nerva, Rufus, and Orfitus) who are named as your accomplices; you will certainly prove their ruin, either by showing too much confidence in your innocence, or by saying what you will not be able to make believed concerning them. Their safety and your own are both before you. Precaution is better than repentance.” Κρείττων ἢ πρόνοια τῆς μεταμέλειας. Damis, who had remained silent, was quite overcome with the discourse of Demetrius, and said, “I thank you for the friendly advice given my master, and trust it may have

¹ *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane*, par Pierre Jean Bapt. Legrand D'Aussy, etc., vol. ii. p. 201.

an effect and be useful to him; for my influence with him avails but little, even when I advise him not to run upon drawn swords. Without having seen you I should never have learned the object of our present journey. No one is more with him than I, and yet, when asked where I am going, I appear quite ridiculous in not being able to tell; for here I am traversing the Sicilian seas and Tyrrhenean bays, and literally know not for what purpose. If I expose myself to danger I should at least have the satisfaction of being able to answer all questions that were asked; and if I am to be banished to have at least an opportunity to familiarize myself with the language of the country to which I am destined. For forty years past there have been no antagonisms nor rivalry between me and my master, but should any one ask me I should certainly say that in the present case Apollonius courts death, and in that respect I hope to have it understood I antagonize him; still we sail together. If I die, philosophy will suffer but little, for I am but an attendant upon a courageous philosopher; my sole merit consists in following him.

“But if they put Apollonius to death, they may, in my opinion, boast of having accomplished much indeed toward the extinction of philosophy in the destruction of him who of all men was the best able to sustain her. We have to contend with many Anytuses and Melituses, and many are the accusations brought from all sides against the friends of my master. As for my part, I think a man should be willing to lay down his life rather than falsify his philosophy, or to permit a desecration of his altars, his cities, or his sepulchers,

and many are the illustrious men who have died in the defense of such things. But I would neither seek death myself nor commend it in any unless it were honorable to die and dishonorable to live."

To this Apollonius replied, "We must pardon Damis for his great precaution on the present emergency. He is an Assyrian by birth, a country of the Medes,¹ where absolute power is respected, and consequently cannot be supposed to hold very exalted ideas of civil liberty, and yet he is the noblest of his race. I have many friends when I am in favor at court and when I don't need them, but this fellow is my friend in prosperity and adversity, and stands by me right or wrong. As for you, Demetrius, I cannot see how you can justify yourself to philosophy in the advice you have given me and in arousing the fears of Damis. It is easy to see that I have come here on no fool's errand, nor am I under any apprehension on account of my own life, for the tyrant's power is unable to destroy me, even though I wished it myself. But so far as I endanger the lives of others by my conduct, I hold myself culpable; and were I to betray them through my own indolence or a want of zeal in their favor, what opinion, I pray then, would be formed of

¹ As before stated, we, with Berwick in a note on page 31, think that the Ninus there mentioned was on the Euphrates, a short distance from Antioch, on the road to Zeugma, and in Syria instead of Assyria. This would make Damis a countryman of Julia Domna, which would aid some other probabilities in this

biography. On page 33 Berwick says, "After they had commenced their journey they came to the bridge at Zeugma, the boundary line of Mesopotamia, where the tollman, officer of customs, inquired of them about their luggage." All this would be meaningless if Ninus on the Tigris in Assyria was meant.

me¹ by all good men? I knew it was impossible for me to escape the imputation of treason; it is part of the scheme of Domitian and his advisers. If now I should take your advice and leave, and consequently, by that act, impliedly admit guilt and these men be put to death as accomplices, on what coast could I land or to what people fly? I must exile myself from the Roman empire and go in quest of friends to unknown parts of the earth, or shall I go to the virtuous Phraotes, the noble king of the Bardenes, to the divine Iarchus, or the generous and learned Thespasian? Were I to go to the savants of Ethiopia (gymnosophists), what could I say to Thespasian? 'O Thespasian, Euphrates has accused me to you of crimes of which I am not conscious; he has told you I was a boaster, fond of the marvelous, and despised the knowledge of the Ethiopians. These things are false, but I, nevertheless, am the betrayer and the executioner of my friends, and all who once knew and trusted me have lost confidence in me. If a crown of righteousness is awarded by you for such qualities, I am come to carry it away; I am come to receive my reward for having destroyed some of the noblest men, and some of the first houses of Rome.' But I see, Demetrius, you blush.

"I have raised the standard of liberty, and at the moment she is on trial, shall I desert her? If so, of what friendship am I worthy after having thus betrayed

¹ All of the writers who have written in defense of Christ against Apollonius admit the nobleness, magnanimity, and bravery of Apollonius, but fail to make comparison of his courage and heroism with the craven cowardice of Jesus in the garden and on the way to execution.

my friends into the very hands of the executioner? I know, Demetrius, how able you are to abridge and appreciate all dissertations, and that you would at this time naturally address me thus, 'Go not to the dwellers on the sacred hill, but go to men with whom no intercourse of friendship has subsisted; if you do this, your flight will turn out successful and you will be concealed amongst a people who know you not, until the storm has subsided.' You thus prescribe for me the physic of preventive, while I consider my case as demanding violent restoratives. But let us look into the force of this matter in some of its other phases. I am of opinion that a wise man, or one who professes wisdom, and knows himself, ought to do none of those conscience-upbraiding things, even in private or retirement, which vulgar minds frequently justify themselves in doing boastfully in public. The mind is free and capable of judging what is proper to do, and receive self-plaudits; not so with conscience; it is an immutable python, receiving, it is true, impressions from the images which the mind presents to it, but which never dominates it. If the mind through a course of patient pursuit and training, or of instantaneous selection, makes morality and virtue objects of its choice, conscience is always there and approves and accompanies with pleasing accord the possessor through all the walks of life, the temples, the sacrifice, the sacred groves, and forsakes him not in prison and death.

"But if the state of the mind, through improper maturation, inclines to iniquity and vice, conscience becomes an accusing dæmon, or deserts him altogether and leaves him a prey to the Furies. Remember the

story of Orestes, the friend of Pylades,¹ who for the murder of his mother was tortured by the Furies — a condemning conscience. Now, from what I have said, I think I have made it clear, that whatever conscience approves it may be safe to do, and whatever it condemns leave undone. The reason of Demetrius may err, his conscience never. My life is not necessary; to go to Rome my conscience tells me is. I shall therefore be true to myself and shall face the tyrant. With the advice of the Spartan mother to her son, who complained that his sword was too short, 'Go one step nearer,' and the words of Homer to encourage me,

'Mars is our common Lord, alike to all,
And oft the victor triumphs but to fall,'²

I go to Rome! for, as Thræsea Pætus³ used to say, I had rather be killed to-day than to go into voluntary exile to-morrow."⁴

Damis writes that he was so affected by the words of Apollonius that he derived new life from them, and Demetrius persisted no longer in holding views at variance with Apollonius, declaring that he spoke with divine instinct and was entitled to the highest commendations for the dangers to which he had exposed himself for liberty and philosophy. He then offered to take him and his companions to his lodgings, which Apollonius begged leave to decline, from the consideration of its growing late, and it being his intention to

¹ *History of Classical Greek Literature* (Mahaffy), vol. i. p. 361.

² Rendered by Pope.—Berwick's *Life of Apollonius*, p. 390.

³ A stoic philosopher, put to death by Nero with other stoics, A. D. 66.

⁴ *The Works of Epictetus* (Higginson), p. 6.

sail in the night, the time appointed for the sailing of the vessel on which they had engaged passage.

"However," said he, "when times have mended we will sup together; at present the occasion might be made the excuse for charging you with high treason, should it be known that you had eaten with Domitian's enemy. I do not wish you even to accompany us to the port, lest that very circumstance might involve you in the suspicion of criminal designs against the government." Then making a simple offering to Serapis, who presided in a magnificent temple at this place, and embracing Demetrius, they left for Dicaëarchia (Puteoli), and, as Demetrius and Damis believed, to voluntary death;¹ and at midnight weighed anchor, and through

¹ Every true disciple of the Stoa believed that it was his privilege to embrace death "when no higher duties bound him to life," and in his morality and high sense of honor the stoic is in advance of all his contemporaries and has been from the establishment of his philosophy to the present. "To a reasonable creature," says Epictetus, "that alone is insupportable which is unreasonable; but everything reasonable may be supported. See how the Spartans bear whipping after they have reduced it to reason. Hanging is not insupportable; for as soon as a man has taken it into his head that it is reasonable, he goes and hangs himself." "God be thanked," says Seneca, "that no one can be forced to live longer than he desires." Among all the stoics, whether Greek or Roman, Seneca

was preëminent as an advocate of suicide. He did not content himself with reserving it for desperate emergencies; he advised it for almost any evil. "Does life please you," he says, "live on."

Epictetus could feel no sympathy with a life full of murmurings. "Either live contentedly," said he, "or be gone; at all events, don't live a life of peevish complainings. The door is open; go if you do not wish to suffer, but if you choose to stay, don't complain."

Marcus Aurelius declared "that a man was the arbiter of his own life." Cicero is made the exponent of the sentiment, "To depart out of this life when it no longer pleases." Cato approved of suicide as a means of escaping personal humiliation and enhancing personal dignity. The elder Pliny vaunted man's superior-

many mishaps on the third day came to moorings in the mouth of the Tiber (A. D. 90-1-2).

The imperial sword was then in the hands of Tacticus Ælian, the Pretorian prefect.¹ This man had known Apollonius when in Egypt and loved him, and while in public he displayed the utmost zeal in prosecuting the enemies of Domitian, yet he secretly used every means consistent with safety to both, to serve him. When Ælian found that Apollonius lay under grievous accusations he addressed the emperor, and said, "Sophists are nothing but prattle and flippancy; the art they profess is all for show, and whenever they are unable to derive a maintenance from it they wish to die. Sophists of this description do not wait the voluntary approach of death, but anticipate it by provoking those in power to inflict it. It was for this consideration, I think, that Nero declined putting Apollonius to death; it would attach to him too much celebrity.

"The same prince," said he, "kept Musonius, the Tyrrhenian, who opposed his authority in many instances, shut up in the little island of Gyara."

In this manner he tried to soothe the emperor before Apollonius arrived; and, when he did arrive, ordered him to be immediately brought before him,

ity to the gods in that he may die when it pleases him.

Themistocles committed suicide, as did Diogenes, Menedemus (successor of Stilpo), Onesicratus, Metrocles, Menippus, Italicus Demonax, Perigrinus, Diodorus, and Cassius. — *Suicide, Studies on its Philosophy, Causes, etc.*, by James O'Dea, M. D. (New York, 1882), p. 30.

¹ There is a discrepancy about the period in which Ælian flourished. Thomas, in his Biographical Dictionary, says he flourished about the middle of the second century, but Philostratus makes him an officer under the government of Domitian. — Cf. *Ælianus de militaribus Ordinibus instituendis*, etc. (F. Robortelli, 1552).

when his accusers attacked him with great violence. But Ælian requested them to reserve their accusations for the emperor's tribunal, and proceeded to examine the stoic apart and not in open court.

He then retired with Apollonius into the most private part of the court, where causes of the greatest moment are tried *sub silentio*, and ordered all attendants to withdraw, such being the emperor's pleasure. When they were alone, Ælian said to Apollonius, "I was but a very young man at the time the emperor's father, Vespasian, went into Egypt to sacrifice, and to advise with you on the state of affairs at Rome. I accompanied him as a military tribune, in consequence of the knowledge I possessed of the art of war. I remember you received me with so much kindness, which, with the importance attached to your councils by the emperor, made a lasting impression upon me, and I seem to have been commissioned by the gods to do you service, for I assure you the danger to you is imminent. I am here the guardian of a cruel tyranny. If I fail to discharge any part of my duty my punishment is certain. I have already given you a proof of my friendship, and what I told you from the beginning of my unceasing regard for you may, I think, be sufficient to call to remembrance my character. My wishing to speak to you alone on the charges of your accuser, is a mere pretense and contrivance of mine to show you the confidence that is placed in me at this court, and communicate confidentially to you what you have to expect from the emperor. I know not what sentence he will pass on your case, but I know he is very much in the temper of those

judges who wish to condemn and yet are ashamed to do so without some solid grounds; besides, he is desirous to do what ought not to be done, and to do it under the cloak of justice."

Apollonius, when he heard this, said, "I shall in future speak to you without reserve, for as you have opened your mind to me, I shall do the same to you. I had it in my power to escape this peril by flight, for there are still many parts of the earth not subject to your power, to which I might have retired. I could have found an asylum with wise men, men much wiser than myself, who worship the gods according to right reason; in a country inhabited by a people much more pious than the people of Rome, among whom exists neither information nor accusation; a people who commit no willful injury themselves, and whose example is a successful bar against any infraction by others, and who have no need of inquisitions or courts of justice. But, fearing to incur the imputation of guilt and the character of a traitor, should I dodge a defense, and that they who are in danger on my account should suffer in consequence, I am come to plead my own cause. My first great need now is to know the nature of the accusation against me, in order that I may prepare for my defense."

"Among the charges preferred against you are the peculiarities of your dress,¹ your mode of living [having relation probably to his food and wandering habits], the adoration paid to you; your answer to the

¹ It will be remembered that Apollonius's dress and food were entirely vegetarian. He wore no manner of clothing which had an animal structure or animal tissue.—*Apollonius von Tyana und Christus* (Baur).

Ephesians, relative to the plague; of words spoken in public and private against the emperor; but the gravest of all is the charge of having met Nerva in a field and there sacrificed an Arcadian boy for him, in order to determine an augury for the death of the emperor, and secure the empire for Nerva. All, except the last, are merely collateral; your apology must be directed principally against the sacrifice. And I beg that you will speak so as to give no occasion for offense to the emperor." To which Apollonius replied: "I shall submit my conduct to your judgment, first, on account of your own worth, and next, the regard you have ever shown for me."

He was then placed in custody by the keepers of the prison to await the pleasure of the emperor.

One day a tribune who knew Apollonius, having met him before, asked him, when he passed the cell, the cause of his present trouble, to which he replied that he did not know. "I do," said the tribune; "it is in consequence of the worship paid you by the people of Ephesus, which has given rise to the charge of blasphemy, and in your trying on other occasions to pass yourself off as one of the gods." "Is that all?" replied Apollonius. "When I was a boy at Ephesus," said the tribune, "you delivered the city from the plague, and multitudes worshiped you." "They did well," said Apollonius, "as did the city of Ephesus when delivered from such a calamity. But why am I here instead of the Ephesians who committed the blasphemy? They probably occupy the next cell." "But," continued the tribune, "I have found out the means of saving you, and drawing you out of your present difficulty. It is said

that you have great magical powers; let us go out of the city, and if I cut off your head with this sword all these accusations against you will fall to the ground, and you will stand acquitted; but if you so terrify me by your acts as to make the sword drop out of my hands, then we shall know that you are a god, and will worship you as such by a public decree.”¹

Apollonius never once affected to hear the last remark, but continued his conversation with Damis. This was the same mischievous tribune who had previously preferred charges against Aristides, and wished to have him banished. The next day Apollonius was removed by Ælian into another prison, where the prisoners were not bound. There were many persons confined in this prison, charged with various offenses. There was a man from Cilicia who told Apollonius that the real cause of his confinement was his wealth, of which some one had been covetous. “If,” said Apollonius, “you have obtained your wealth by unjustifiable means, by dark transactions, then it ought to be confiscated, and given to the rightful owner.” “My property,” said the Cilician, “has arisen from numerous relations, all of which has at last centered in myself. Informers and spies have abused me, have threatened to report me as a disloyal subject; by my wealth I have purchased their silence. And after I had made great accessions to my wealth in trade, both by

¹ On ne comprend pas bien (says être dit sérieusement; et on ne Dupin) le dessein de cet homme, peut excuser Apollone de l'approbation qu'il donne à ceux qui lui ou plutôt de Philostrate, dans cette histoire; mais quel qu'il puisse être, avoient rendu des honneurs divins on ne croira jamais, que cela ait pû à Ephèse.

sea and land, I became such a slave to fear that I gave part of it to sycophants to stop their mouths, part to magistrates to defend me against cheats and impostors, part to relations to keep down envyings and jealousies, and part to my slaves to keep them from growing worse under pretense of being neglected by me. And, notwithstanding all the care I have taken to secure my riches and to fence them around, here I am in this great peril, nor do I know whether I shall come safe out of it or not."

Here also was confined the chief magistrate of Tarentum, who had to vindicate himself from the charge of having omitted to say that Domitian was the son of Pallas, in a sacrifice which he had made. To him Apollonius replied, "You forsooth believed this incredible inasmuch that Pallas never brought forth by reason of her perpetual virginity, but are you ignorant of the fact that this goddess was accessory in giving the Athenians Erichthonius, a deformed monster, with tails of a serpent instead of legs? He was supposed to have been the son of Vulcan."¹

There were about fifty persons of rank confined in this prison, charged with various offenses against the person and royalty of Domitian, many of whom were dejected in spirits, and in expectation of death were bemoaning their hard fate. Whereupon Apollonius, calling them together, thus addressed them, "O you, who are my companions in this dreary abode, I am sorry to see that you by your fretfulness are gradually putting yourselves to death before it is known whether the information against you will be sufficient to destroy you

¹ He was a fabled king of Athens who built the Erechtheum.

or not. You ought not so to conduct yourselves, but should take comfort from the words of Archilochus the Parian, who said, under conditions similar to ours, 'Endurance and patience in adversity are inventions of the gods, to enable us to bear the evils of life without despondency.' Do not then account those things so grievous which you endure and which you cannot help, and to which others have exposed themselves of their own free will and choice for the common weal of humanity. It is true, if you are conscious of any guilt, you should lament the day in which your hearts deceived you and made you do unlawful or disloyal things. But believe me, your courage should rise in proportion to the sorrow you feel for those most nearly connected with you. Exorcise yourselves for such trials of endurance." These and many other words of encouragement Apollonius uttered to the prisoners, many of whom took courage and began to entertain hopes, and remained hopeful so long as he was with them.

The next day, while he was haranguing them in the same strain, a person entered the prison, who had been sent by Domitian to take an account of the philosopher. He had a melancholy air, and was, he said, in imminent danger, and spoke with contumely of the emperor. Apollonius, seeing at once the snare that was laid for him, said nothing which could serve his purpose. He talked of rivers, and mountains, and wild beasts, and trees, and all this, while it amused the other prisoners, profited the informer nothing. He tried, however, to induce Apollonius to say something disrespectful of the tyrant; but he was on his guard, and adroitly

turned the scales upon him in this manner: "You may say what evil you please, my friend, of the emperor; your great prudence is unnecessary; you need have no fear of me, for I will never turn informer; but I will tell him in person whatever I consider reprehensible in his conduct."

Many other things transpired in the prison, some the effects of mere chance; others designedly and insidiously contrived, in order to entrap Apollonius. Damis speaks of them all, in order; he says, apologizing for the omission, "they are, however, of no great moment and deserve little attention." On the evening of the fifth day of his confinement a stranger came into the prison, who used the Greek tongue, and asked where the Tyanean was. He then took him aside from the prisoners, and said, "The emperor will speak to you to-morrow, and the keeper has been ordered to see that you are supplied with everything necessary." "But," said Apollonius, "I want nothing." "Would you not," returned the messenger, "wish the advice of a friend, to instruct you how to address the emperor?" "I should, indeed," said he, "provided he did not advise me to flatter him." "But suppose," replied the messenger, "he were to advise you not to treat him with disrespect, nor to speak to him with insolence?" "I thank you," said Apollonius, "for the kindly hint." "It was for this purpose," returned the messenger, "that I was sent here." "Let not the harsh and dissonant voice of the emperor, or his bloated and bilious countenance, or his heavy and terrible eyebrows intimidate you, O Tyanean, for they are natural

and unavoidable defects." "I shall endeavor," said Apollonius, "to show as little fear as Ulysses when surprised in the cave of Polyphemus."

On the sixth day, as soon as it was light, Apollonius arose and paid his adoration to the rising sun, in as acceptable a manner as the unfitness of the place would permit; and, after his devotions, he talked with all who came to him on subjects of their own selection. About midday an officer of the court arrived, ordering his attendance at the palace, who said he came to have him in readiness before he was called. "Let us go at once," said Apollonius, and he forthwith set out with some eagerness. As he passed along, guarded by four officers who attended him, but who kept at a greater distance from him than was usual when guarding a common prisoner, thereby admitting his rank, Damis followed him, but with great fear and pensiveness. All eyes were turned upon Apollonius; his singular dress attracted their attention as well as their sympathies and admiration for him, in consequence of the dangers he had encountered in behalf of Nerva, Rufus, and Orfitus; he had conciliated the affections of all, even his enemies, for in their hearts the people despised Domitian.

As they stood before the palace gates waiting for admission, Apollonius observed, in the great crowd passing and repassing, the attentions and compliments which were mutually given and received by different classes of people, some unfortunately in position, others seeking to get in. One man, of imposing presence and address, who, he was told, had worn himself out in the service of an ungrateful master, and was now can-

vassing for the government of an outlying province, and on that account was paying the most servile court to the emperor. "O Damis," said Apollonius, "Sophocles himself would be impotent, with all his logic, to persuade this man to rather fly than court this wild and truculent master." "A master whom we, too, have of our own accord selected," replied Damis, "and before whose gates we also now stand as mendicant suitors." "I believe," said Apollonius, "you imagine Æacus to be the keeper of these gates, as he is said to be of those of hell, and which you are about to enter, for you appear to have lost all courage and are like a dead man." "Not quite a dead man yet," replied Damis, "but like one with whom the ritual of the dead was shortly to become an interesting formulary; and I am fearful that Domitian has it in his heart to deprive me of my master's service for that concluding sacrament." "And so, Damis," said Apollonius, "you still seem faint-hearted in contemplation of death, notwithstanding your long attachment to me, who have been a philosopher from my youth. I thought you were prepared for death." "It is a matter," replied Damis, "for which I have no great zest. And then I have been taught by my master that philosophers should consider the time most fitting them to die, so that they may leave the world with greater deliberation, and not after the manner of men taken by surprise."

As soon as the emperor was at leisure Apollonius was introduced into the palace by the officers in waiting, who would not permit Damis to follow him. The emperor had on his head a garland of green boughs,

and had stopped a moment at the Hall of Adonis.¹ He was still intent on the thoughts of the sacrifice in which he had been engaged, as Apollonius approached from the opposite direction; turning about and being struck with the extraordinary appearance of the man, he cried out, "O Ælian, you have brought me a dæmon!" At this, Apollonius, without the least hesitation or intimidation, said, "O Emperor, I was considering you like Diomede at Troy, under the protection of Pallas,² who purged his eyes of that mist which dims the sight of mortals, and gave him the faculty of distinguishing between gods and men.³ But from your eyes, O Emperor, the goddess has not yet removed the mist, otherwise you would have known better than to class men with dæmons." "But how long, philosopher," asked the emperor, "is it since your eyes were purged from darkness?" "Since I began the study of philosophy," replied Apollonius. "How is it, then," said he, "that you adore as gods my greatest enemies?"

¹ The feast of Adonis was celebrated in most of the Grecian cities in honor of Venus, and in memory of her beloved Adonis. Images, or pictures, of Adonis and Venus were brought forth with all the pomp and ceremonies used at funerals; the women tore their hair and beat their breasts.

² Powerless before an omnipotent will, we rather pity than condemn an Apollonius, an Ovid, a Seneca, or a Tasso, who seek to propitiate by flattery the brute whom they

cannot persuade by reason. When stoics were pining in Corsican prisons, wasting away on desolate rocky islands, or accepting self-destruction to escape fiendish vengeance, it was enough to humble a philosopher of sterner and more youthful nerves than Apollonius. But Apollonius stood his ground, nor did one murmur escape him. He had taken the cup, and had prepared to drink it to its dregs, without whining or complaining.—Philostrati, *Icones*, etc., 1503.

³ "I also purge thy sight, the mist that once Obscured it fled, thou shalt distinguish gods From mortals clearly."

Homer, *Iliad*, b. v.

“Do you, then, war with the Indian philosophers, Iarchas and Phraotes, who, of all men, are the only ones whom I consider in any sense deserving of the appellation of gods?” “Answer me,” said Domitian, “as to Nerva, your friend, and his accomplices.” “Do you, then, command me to plead the cause of Nerva?” “I do,” returned the emperor. “Listen, then,” said Apollonius, “for I shall conceal no truth. I know that Nerva is the most moderate and mildest of men, I know that he is much attached to you, I know that he is an excellent magistrate, I know that he is little disposed to meddle in affairs of state, and I know that you have been misinformed concerning him. He is not the man, O Emperor, to attempt innovations in governments, or to lend assistance to those who do.” On hearing this the emperor became furious with anger, and exclaimed, “And he, I suppose, if interrogated about you, would probably say that you were neither an enchanter, nor hot-headed, nor a braggart, nor covetous, nor a despiser of the law; so much are ye all agreed in crime.” Apollonius listened calmly to all he had to say, and replied, “It is not honest in you, O Emperor, nor agreeable to law, either to enter into a judicial discussion of what you are already persuaded, nor to be persuaded of that, the merits of which have not been discussed. If such is your pleasure, permit me to begin my defense with saying that you are prejudiced against me, and more unjust than the common informer, for what he pledges himself to prove you have passed upon without proof.” “Begin then,” said Domitian, “where you please; I know where I ought to begin and end.”

After this the emperor treated Apollonius with great contempt and severity; he ordered his hair and beard cut off, and commanded that he be sent back to prison, loaded with irons, and cast among the vilest felons, but he deferred taking summary vengeance. Ælian managed to communicate to Apollonius that all these things were favorable omens.

As he was being remanded back to prison, Apollonius playfully remarked, "I did not know that I had incurred this great danger on account of my hair." Damis, who had received new life from the course matters had taken, responded, "You will be above suspicion from that cause in the future."

Two days after he had been bound in chains, a stranger entered the prison, who said he could be of service to him, if allowed a conference, and the object of his visit was to advise with him on his present situation. He was a Syracusan, *the mind and tongue of Domitian*, and, like a former visitor on a like errand, was suborned by the emperor; but the part he acted was better contrived and not so easily discovered. The former took a most circuitous way of sounding Apollonius; the present guest began his attack at once, exclaiming, "Who, O ye gods, could have thought of binding the Tyanean in chains? And, pray, how do your legs bear the fetters?" All the Syracusan said was spoken with an insidious design of trying his temper, and cause him to reproach the emperor as the author of his sufferings. But Apollonius knew too well the purpose of the interview and never lost his presence of mind for one moment. At last the Syracusan, being reduced to silence by the well-timed and

evasive answers which fell from the lips of Apollonius, said, "You have incurred the emperor's displeasure on many accounts, but particularly on account of Nerva and his friends, who have escaped, although guilty of high treason. Certain false accusations have also been carried to him of some discourses held by you in Ionia, and which have been reported as uttered with the most hostile tendency. But, as far as I understand, the emperor pays little or no attention to such calumnies, because his displeasure on the present occasion has arisen from subjects of higher moment. And yet, the man who has given him all his present information is one who stands high in reputation." "You allude," said Apollonius, "to some person who once gained a crown by excelling at the Olympic games, and now supposes he can win another in excelling in calumny. I know you mean Euphrates, to whom I am indebted for many similar kindnesses. He anticipated my visit to the gymnosophists of Ethiopia and poured venom in their ears, and had I not had a previous knowledge of the machinations of the man, I should have been compelled to return without accomplishing the object of my mission." The Syracusan, amazed at these revelations, said, "Do you think it then of less account to be accused by the emperor than to be underrated by the gymnosophists on account of the deception of Euphrates?" "I do, indeed, for I went to them to acquire knowledge, and I came here to communicate it." "To communicate what, are you come?" inquired the Syracusan. "I came to deny in person the calumnies of my traducers. I came to report with my own lips that I am of good repute, and have an honestly

acquired fame, of all which the emperor is ignorant!" The Syracusan then left the prison and went out, testifying his admiration of Apollonius, and that he believed him more than a philosopher.

As soon as he was gone, Apollonius turned to Damis, saying, "Did you understand that Python?" "I did," said he, "and knew he was suborned for the very purpose of taking you by surprise."¹

Damis says Apollonius held many similar conversations with persons attached to the court of Domitian, but declared that for himself he had lost all hope and knew of no way of escape from the present difficulties except what might arise from prayers to the gods, which had saved them from greater perils. Some time before midday, Damis said, "O Tyanean, what do you think will become of us?" "Nothing but what has usually happened to us; there will be a way provided by the gods for us out of this; no one will be put to death." "But when will you be set at liberty?" "To-morrow," answered Apollonius, "if it depended solely on the judge, and this instant if it depended on myself." And, without a word more, he drew his leg out of the fetters, and said to Damis, "You see the liberty I enjoy, and I hope you will keep up your spirits, and I shall behave myself like a man bound in chains."

While Apollonius was making these revelations to Damis, and talking to him on various subjects, a person entered the prison with the following message from Domitian: "The emperor says he, at the solicitations of Ælian, orders you to be released from your fetters, and

¹ Python was a Byzantine orator, the son of Augustus, to persuade who possessed great powers of per- the Greeks to submit to his yoke. suasion. He was sent by Philip, He was opposed by Demosthenes.

gives you leave to inhabit a more roomy apartment till the time for your making your defense arrives, and which, I hear, will be allowed you five days hence." "But who," said he, "will take me out of this place?" "I myself," answered the stranger; "follow me." As soon as he entered the new apartment, it being the same previously occupied by him, they who were confined there recognized him, and ran and embraced him as one restored to them contrary to all expectation; they believed he had suffered death under the sentence of Domitian. Their love for Apollonius was on account of his good advice, his gentleness, and the hopeful view in which he regarded their cases, and they expressed their regard for him in the most public manner, believing him more than human.

The day after, Apollonius called Damis to him, and said, "I must now prepare my defense, to be ready for the time appointed for my hearing. You will depart from here at once and take the Appian Way to Neapolis, and thence to Dicæarchia (Puteoli), and go on foot, as it is the safer mode of traveling; you will there meet Demetrius; salute him, and turn to the seaside, opposite the island of Calypso, and there I will meet you." "What, alive!" said Damis, "or how else?" At hearing this Apollonius laughed and answered, "Alive in my opinion, but in yours raised from the dead."¹ Damis says, he set out sore against his will, his mind alternating

¹ There is but little doubt that Apollonius had had assurance from Ælianus that he was to be released, or, as it would seem more probable from the sequel, means offered him to escape, and thereby save Domitian the odium of executing a beggar. Confirmatory of this, Apollonius seemed to know that he would not be pursued. All this he undoubtedly kept from Damis, either as a matter of policy, or to preserve in Damis the illusion of his divine nature and influence of the gods.

between hope and despair, not knowing whether he would be saved or perish,—he was too much absorbed in the probable fate of his master to note with precision the many interesting things of the Appian Way.¹

On his first day he passed the former residence of Aulus Persius Flaccus, a philosopher and a stoic, and a friend of Apollonius.² On the third day he arrived at Dicæarchia where he heard that there had been a violent storm at sea, in which many vessels were lost and many driven to the Sicilian straits. When he heard this he understood why Apollonius advised him to make his journey on foot.

We will now approach the tribunal where Apollonius was to make his defense. Whilst on his way he asked the officer of the court who conducted him, where he was taking him, who replied, "To the tribunal." "Then," said he, "against whom am I to plead?" "Against your accuser," returned the officer, "and afterward the emperor will give sentence." "But who," said he, "will judge between the emperor and me, for I will demonstrate the injury he is doing to philosophy." "And what cares the emperor whether or not he injures philosophy?" "And what cares philosophy," returned Apollonius, "if in the practice of it the emperor smarts under the lashes it inflicts? And yet," continued he, "it is of infinite consequence to philosophy and to the emperor that he governs with prudence and discretion." These remarks met the full approbation of the officer, who from the first was well

¹ Cf. *Histoire des grands chemins de l'empire romain*, par Nicolas Bergier (1728), 2 vols. 4to, art. Appian Way.

² Flaccus's estate was ten miles from Rome; he died, A. D. 64.

disposed toward Apollonius, believing him to be very wise. He then inquired, "What quantity of water will you require for your defense,¹ a circumstance necessary to be known before you adjust it?" "If," replied Apollonius, "the emperor permits me to say as much as the cause requires, all of the water of the Tiber will not be enough to measure the time, but if only as much as I wish to say, the interrogant, at his pleasure, may limit the time to be allowed the respondent." "Have you, then," said the officer, "cultivated the habit of brevity when discoursing?" "Silence," said Apollonius, "would be my only argument were I alone the party on trial here." "Socrates tried silence," said the officer, "and won a judgment of death." "He did not die. It was the Athenians who thought so. He now lives, and will always live and plead his cause to all coming generations."

Whilst they were waiting at the door of the tribunal, another officer came up and said, "Tyanean, you must enter naked." "What," returned Apollonius, "is it to bathe or to plead my cause I am come here? It is of but little use, I suppose, however, to raise questions of either propriety or decency here; obedience is the *lex non scripta*." "What I have said," replied the officer, "alludes not to your clothes but to the emperor's order, forbidding your bringing with you either amulet, or charm, or book, or any writing whatever." "And does he also forbid," continued Apollonius, "my bringing

¹ Allusion is here made to the *clepsydra* (Κλεψύδρα), an instrument used to measure time, which was usually fixed by stipulation, and which it was never permitted

to exceed. The instrument was regulated by water dropping through a glass. It was of Assyrian origin, and had been adopted in Greece and Egypt.

along with me a rod for the back of those who have given him such foolish advice?"

All the illustrious men of the day attended the emperor, who was particularly anxious to throw as much consequence into these trials as possible, and to make it appear that the persons accused were concerned in actual rebellion.

One of the freedmen of Euphrates stood beside the accuser while Apollonius pronounced his defense. This man had been sent by Euphrates into Ionia to collect everything said by the Tyanean whilst there.

Apollonius was ordered to plead to only four counts in the charges:¹

Charge 1st. With wearing garments which differ from those of other men, thereby rendering yourself singular and peculiar, and attracting crowds of boisterous people to the detriment of the good order of the city. Of wearing the hair long and unsightly, and of living as a vagrant, not in accord with good society.²

Charge 2d. You allow and encourage men to call you a god.³

¹ This trial Echard, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, supposes to have taken place in the fourteenth year of Domitian (A. D. 96), under the consulship of Asprenas and Lateranus, a little before the second persecution of the church, about twenty-five years after the destruction of Jerusalem. It seems strange to one who has carefully followed the history of this period, step by step, to hear historians speak of a first and second Christian persecu-

tion, when he knows that there were no Christians and no persecutions during all this period.—Cf. *Eusebius in Hierocles*, 41.

² As is frequently stated by Philostratus, the immediate wants of Apollonius were satisfied by loans from the temples, the great banking-houses of that day, and these loans were paid from his private estate; he was by no means a vagrant.

³ There is one attestation (says Dr. Enfield), among many others

Charge 3d. Through magic you predicted a plague in Ephesus, and by incantations turned it away. And that you practiced magic for mercenary purposes.¹

Charge 4th. Charged with sacrificing an Arcadian boy outside the city walls, in the suburbs, for purposes of divination from the entrails if Nerva would succeed to the throne.

After the accuser had settled upon these charges, Apollonius was permitted to answer for himself.²

“The cause at present before us, O Emperor, is of great moment to the state, as involving the rights of free citizens; great to you, O Emperor, because you must not appear as the prosecutor of a citizen, nor as the enemy even of philosophy without good cause, under the charges, greater perhaps than those against Socrates at Athens, when his accusers affirmed that he supported new opinions touching the religion of the state; but they did not call him god, nor did they think him one. It has been presumptuously said that I would deliver my defense in anger and make treasonable utterances, and consequently be put to death without any consideration of the question of guilt or innocence as charged. These, and many other things, have reached my ears; but I am here, in full possession of my faculties, without prejudice, and without any unfavorable apprehensions of the results of the hearing which you are to give my cause. It is my privilege

of Apollonius's great celebrity, that during his life-time he was called a god, and accepted the appellation, saying that every good man was honored by it.

¹ *Mourceji disquisition de Magia divinatorie et operatrice* (Francof, 1683).

² *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane*, par Legrand D'Aussy, vol. ii. p. 244.

to be heard before this tribunal, and it is your duty to listen and to pronounce sentence on the charges, if sustained, according to the voice of the law. Justice requires of you that you shall neither condemn me without a fair hearing, nor carry to the seat of judgment any prejudice or persuasion of my having committed any evil against your person or interests, unless established by direct testimony. Suppose your outlying provinces, the Armenians and Babylonians, in whom you trust, and who have a numerous cavalry, legions of soldiers and archers, and a rich country, should threaten your person and your empire, you would laugh at so ridiculous an effort to dethrone you, and is it possible that you distrust a poor, harmless, unarmed philosopher, arraigned upon the idle tales of an Egyptian sycophant, of whose truth you have received no intimation from Pallas or the gods? This I do not understand, unless it is that calumny and flattery have so prospered with some men as to have given them power to make you believe that in things of little consequence the gods condescend to act as your advisers; but that in matters wherein the great interests of the state and your own individual security are concerned, these same gods neither counsel you as to the persons you should avoid, nor as to the way in which you should guard against them. Have they persuaded you to think that calumniators stand in the place of the *Ægis* of Pallas and the hand of Jove? Is it possible, I say, such men can make you believe that in what concerns your own safety they know more than the gods themselves; and that their sleeping and waking is all for your sake and the love they bear you?

“Let these men then have the privilege of keeping white horses, and of driving about the Forum in splendid equipages; let them eat off gold and silver, wear golden sandals, and form alliances by marriage and maintain boys at an enormous expense, and intrigue with married women whilst it can be done in secret, and afterward marry the victims of their adulteries when discovered, and have their iniquitous acts commended as glorious deeds, whilst a philosopher, or a man of consular rank, of the best character, if he happens to rebuke such conduct and falls into their hands, is unjustly devoted by you to destruction because they perfidiously suggest it. If such conduct meets your approbation, I should not be surprised if at any propitious moment these men were to accuse you of holding heretical opinions concerning the state and the established religion.

“But whom shall I invoke as my advocate in this ordeal? If I invoke Jupiter, by whom I know I live, I shall be called an enchanter and a magician. That being so, I will appeal to a man whom common usage, custom, and state proclamations have pronounced dead, but who still lives in my affections and in your memory; I mean your father, in whose eyes I was held in the same estimation as he is in yours. He made you emperor, and I contributed largely in making him one. He shall be my advocate in pleading my cause, for he knows my affairs better than you do. He came into Egypt before he was made emperor, to offer sacrifice to the gods of the country and to confer with me on the critical state of the empire. When he met me in my long flowing hair and in this dress, he made no

inquiries about it, from an idea that everything I did was right. He confessed he undertook the journey on my account. He parted with me after much commendation, and said he had communicated with no other person nor had he heard from any man what he heard from me. I communicated to him freely without fear or the possibility of reward. I encouraged him in his purpose of aspiring to the diadem for the good of Rome, though others, among whom was the present accuser, advised him to hesitate, which, I think, yourself would consider not only unwise but a crime against the state at that trying juncture; and the men who advised him not to take the reins of government were they who would have deprived you of the power of succeeding him. I advised him to think himself worthy of the empire, which was, as it were, at his door, and to make you his heir. He acknowledged the wisdom of my advice, which raised him to the summit of his wishes and stayed the carnage at Rome. It seems idle to waste time in refuting the charge of magic, for had Vespasian deemed me a magician he would never have made me acquainted with his most secret purposes, nor should I have deemed him, in such an event, worthy of the empire. I discoursed with him publicly in the temples of the gods, which are known to be avoided by the corporation of magicians, as being holy and hostile to their craft, who, wrapped up in darkness and obscurity, suffer not their foolish votaries to make use of either their eyes or ears. I also talked with him in private upon the subject of magicians, never advocating their cause.

“ He had before coming into Egypt entertained hopes of gaining the empire, and after his arrival he conferred

with me only on the most important subjects, namely, the laws, the right possession of riches, the lawful worship of the gods, and the advantage which they who govern according to justice are to hope from such conduct. To all such subjects, I need not say, O Emperor, that magicians are the greatest enemies; and why? because whenever the laws are in force the magic art is impotent. There is one thing, O Emperor! you ought to consider, which is, that all the arts exercised by men, though different in their operation and effect, have but one object, and that is the acquisition of money, of which some bring in little, others much, and there are others which only furnish a bare subsistence. This is not only true of the servile but of the liberal arts. I call the liberal arts, poetry, music, astronomy, logic, and oratory as practiced in the Forum by sophists and rhetoricians. The arts allied to the liberal ones are painting, carving, sculpture, pilotage, and agriculture. There are arts which are not much inferior to what are called the liberal. There is also an art, O Emperor, that does not appertain to true wisdom, and is only becoming the practice of vain quacks and mountebanks, which ought not to be confounded with the art of divination: an art, if true, most highly to be prized, and yet I am at a loss whether to call it an art or not. Magicians, I affirm, are pseudo-sophists, and I attribute entirely to the heated imaginations of their duped votaries the powers they possess of making that which is, appear as if it were not, and that which is not as if it were. The truth is, the whole art lies in the deluded fancies of the spectators. They who practice it frequently amass great wealth. But of what wealth, O

Emperor, have you discovered me possessed? It is certainly not on account of my acquired wealth that I can be charged with magic. And a letter from your father ought to be sufficient to disabuse your mind of any erroneous ideas entertained upon this point.

“*The Emperor Vespasian to the Philosopher Apollonius:*

“*Greeting* — If all men, Apollonius, as well as you, would but cultivate philosophy, philosophy and poverty would flourish and be happy. The former would then be above corruption, and the latter respected. Farewell.’

“This is the defense your father set up for me, in which he ascribed to me a philosophy incorruptible and a voluntary poverty. From my very youth I despised riches. The fortune I derived from my father, which was considerable, I gave to my brothers, friends, and indigent relations, reserving only enough for the plainest necessities of life, having learned in my youth the virtue of living on little. For the truth of these statements I appeal to the Egyptian himself, the present accuser. And thus we think, O Emperor, that the charge of criminal conduct and wicked counsels in the practice of magic for mercenary purpose must fail, for none have been proven, nor do existing facts sustain the accusation. I have merely referred to this count in the charges against me to show that the framer of the charges was misinformed as to facts, or prejudiced in judgment; and if misinformed or prejudiced in this, why not in all?”

Apollonius then took up the counts in their order: first, as to peculiarity of dress; then his long hair,—charges which he deemed made without seriousness, and upon which no free Roman citizen should be called to plead before this tribunal. And then, as to permitting men to worship him as a god. Upon this count he said: “Before an accusation of this kind should be made, I think it would be first right to mention the subjects of my disputation, and next, the wonderful things either said or done that could have prevailed on men to worship me. I never declared to the Greeks either from what body my soul has migrated, or into what it is to migrate. I never spread abroad such an opinion of myself, nor went about publishing oracles and predictions in my favor, like other itinerant fanatics. I never knew any city making proclamation of offering sacrifice to Apollonius; yet I have benefited as many as stood in need of assistance, and many there have been who required it,—in curing the sick, in promoting a stricter observance of religious ceremonies, and in checking oppression by advising a greater energy to the laws. And the only reward I have received for all this was the reformation effected thereby. If, then, they considered me a god, it is to you, O Emperor, that the error proved a service; for, under delusion, they would have listened more willingly to any advice of mine, and would have been more obedient to the laws, through fear of displeasing the gods. But the truth is, they never formed any such opinion of me; they conceived, and rightly too, that men had some degree of affinity with a deity, in

virtue of which all creatures know a god, and can reason philosophically of their own nature, and how far it is participant of the divine. Our virtues descend from the gods, and consequently those who are most endowed with virtue most resemble them. I will not call the Athenians the authors of this sentiment, on account of their being the first who gave men the title of 'Just' and 'Olympian,' and other like appellations, which seem to include something more divine than is befitting mortals; but I will call the Pythian Apollo himself the author of it, as appears from what I am about to say: Lycurgus of Sparta visited the temple of Apollo after delivering to his countrymen the code of laws and statutes on which their city was founded. Apollo addressed him on entering under the title and style of a god on account of his great virtues. No process of any kind was issued against Lycurgus for this, nor did he incur any danger with the Lacedæmonians either for having aspired to immortality, or for not having corrected the Pythian god in his mode of salutation. Therefore, O Emperor, I cannot conceive how I may be found guilty of blasphemy in not rebuking the people, even had they attributed to me, which they did not, godlike qualities, seeing that Lycurgus, a much greater offender, not only went unpunished, but was highly commended thereby.

"Now as to the charge of having restored health to Ephesus, let my accuser bring it forward in the way most fitting his purpose; let him, if he please, urge it in the following manner: 'The Scythians and Celtæ, who dwelt not far from the Danube and Rhine, have a town belonging to them not much inferior to Ephesus

in Ionia. This town is the bulwark to the barbarians, your enemies. A plague was on the point of destroying it, and Apollonius saved it.' Now in a case like this it might be said that it was not necessary to assist the barbarians or to restore them to health, on account of being implacable enemies of the realm, yet it was nevertheless humane to do so. But who, O Emperor, will pretend to say that it was not right to deliver loyal Ephesians from the plague? They have a city rich in literary labors of its philosophers and rhetoricians, and its reputation is based not so much upon the strength of its cavalry as by the number of its citizens devoted to science. Do you think there is any wise man who would not take great pains to save a city like this? Let me call to mind Democritus, who delivered the people of Abdera from a plague; and Sophocles, the Athenian, who appeased the winds when blowing louder and more threatening than usual; or, if it be remembered, how Empedocles checked the fury of a cloud when ready to burst over Agrigentum.

"But I see the accuser looking at me; you see it also, O Emperor! He says I am accused, not for having delivered the Ephesians from a plague, but for having foretold that it would attack them. This foreknowledge he thinks is more than human, and partakes of the marvelous; and he is of opinion I could never have arrived at its discovery without being either a magician or through the aid of a demon.¹ What will Socrates say

¹ Origen, who wrote, A. D. 260; Jerome, A. D. 400; Lactantius, A. D. 320; Theophilus of Antioch, A. D. 210; Tertullian, 3d century; Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 260; and Eusebius, all believed in demons. — *A Short History of the Bible* (Keeler), p. 59.

here ? What will Thales and Anaxagoras, of whom the one predicted a great plenty of olives, and the other a great variety of celestial phenomena, say ? Was it the magic art that they made use of to utter these predictions ? True, they were brought before the tribunals, but under very different charges from those preferred against me ; it was never insinuated that they were magicians or foretold events ; such a charge would have been ridiculous to bring against wise men of Thessaly, where old women are under the evil report of drawing the moon down from heaven, yet no more absurd than is the attitude of the present case. But you will ask, perhaps, how have I foreseen the extraordinary phenomenon which happened at Ephesus ? You heard my accuser speak to that point ; he said I did not live after the manner of other men, which was noticed by me in the exordium of my defense ; when allowed, I used a particular kind of food that was more agreeable to me than the nicest delicacies of Sybaris. This is the kind of living which acts upon me as an occult cause, and keeps my senses unimpaired, with nothing to obscure them, for which reason I have a perception,¹ or as it were in the speculum of a mirror, of things that are and prophetically of things that are to be. A wise man will not wait until the earth sends forth vapor, or the atmosphere is infected, if the evil comes from above ; but he will perceive that such things are at hand, not so soon as the gods yet sooner than the generality of men. The gods see what is to come, men what is come, and wise men what is coming. As to what respects the causes of the plague, inquire of me, O Emperor, in private, for

¹ *Démonologie, ou traité des demons et sorciers* (Tourcing, 1752).

they are too deep to be divulged. The way in which I live is the only thing which gives that subtlety to the senses, or, more properly speaking, that energy which is fit for producing great and wonderful effects. The truth of what I say may be collected from many things, but particularly from what occurred at Ephesus, during the plague.¹

“The statue erected for me at Ephesus to Hercules Averruncus is a proof of whose assistance I implored on the occasion. To him I offered my prayers, whose wisdom and courage of old delivered Elis from a plague, and at the time he turned the course of a river into that province which swept away all its pestilential vapors, in the reign of the king Augeas. Will any man, think you, O Emperor, who wishes to pass for a magician, ascribe to a god what he has performed himself? Did you ever hear of a magician ascribing glory to Hercules? Did any one charge Epimenides with magic, who was sent for by the Athenians from Crete to stay a plague in Athens; his expiations were successful and he would receive no other reward for his services than a treaty of alliance between the Cnossii and the Athenians.”²

“But seeing you wish me to speak on the subject of the sacrifice, which I suppose is signified by the motion

¹ St. Jerome and Justin Martyr assign no other reason for all this wonderful operation than the knowledge he had of nature, and absolve him from all charge of magic. Jerome says, “Apollonius, sive magus, ut vulgus loquitur, sive Philosophus et Pythagorici tradunt.” Justin says, “Apollonius ut vir naturalium potentiarum et dissensionum

atque consensionum earum peritus, ex hac scientiâ mira faciebat non autoritatê divinâ; hanc ob rem in omnibus indiguit assumptione idonearum materiarum quæ cum adjuvarent ad id perficiendum quod efficiebatur.”

² *Herodotus*, v. 71; *Thucydides*, i. 126; *Diogenes Laert.*, i. 109; also *Suidas* and *Pausanias*.

of your hand, listen to what is the ingenuous truth. Though anxious to do all I can for the good of mortals, I never sacrificed for them, nor do I mean to do it. I shall have nothing to do with sacrifices where blood is shed, or to offer up any vows with the sacrificing knife in view, or with anything you call a sacrifice; and I appeal to the preaching and practice of my entire life to brand this accusation false. I am no Scythian, O Emperor, nor one sprung from inhospitable soil. Far from adopting the religious ceremonies of the Massagetæ or Tauri, I have caused them to cease from their bloody sacrifices, and blamed their folly in many discourses had with them on the subject of divination, and in what it may be considered as efficient and in what not. Can I, therefore, under such a formula, be suspected of staining my hands in blood, or in handling the entrails of victims, the bare mention of which is forbidden and excites horror in me? But, setting aside the disgust excited in me at the recital of such sacrifices, let my accuser reflect on the method of the charges made; he has acquitted me himself by implication in their structure. He charges me with having foretold the plague at Ephesus, without having recourse to any sacrifice, and now why does he so inconsistently charge me with making bloody sacrifice to foretell what might have been foretold without them? If I am called upon to answer for Nerva and his friends, and for whom this immolation is said to have been offered, I can only repeat what I said before when accused by you. I look on Nerva as fit for the discharge of any office and worthy of all praise, but ill-calculated for the execution of any enterprise. His body is so enfeebled by disease as to

render him scarcely able to attend to domestic affairs. Who can think that Nerva would aim at sovereign power, who would be content to be able to personally superintend the management of his own family? Or that he should confer with me on a subject of so much moment? Orfitus and Rufus are men of integrity and moderation, and peaceable so far as I know them. But it is said they are suspected of aspiring to the empire; I know not if the mistake is not as great in their case as in that of Nerva; may be, greater. But he who has summoned me here to trial ought to show how I have, or at least how I possibly might have, given assistance to innovators and ambitious aspirants for empire. My prosecutor does not charge me with having received money from them, or in having been bribed into joining their party. But it may be said I have great claims on them, and on that account put off the day of retribution to that time in which it might be supposed they would be masters of the government, when I might demand much and obtain more. But how can this be proved? Call to mind, O Emperor, yourself and your predecessors; I mean your brother, your father, and likewise Nero, while they governed the empire. Under them I lived in some degree of celebrity, even before my journey into India, under Tiberius. During the space of eight and thirty years, which is the time elapsed since, I never frequented the doors of emperors, save those of your father in Egypt, but he was not yet emperor, nor have I ever condescended to anything humiliating in complimenting kings, or even people for the sake of kings. I never boasted of the letters written me by kings, nor of those I wrote

to them; nor did I once deviate from the respect due to myself, by a mean flattery of kings for what they had to bestow. And yet your father and brother were gracious to seek counsel of me and to desire to retain me in such position near them during their reign.

“It is asked of me, under the charge of vagrancy, do I enroll myself with the rich or poor? After duly considering the question, I answer, among the rich. I want nothing, and this is worth all the wealth of Lydia and Pactolus. Mine is the wealth of contentment. Ὁ σοφὸς ἐν ἀντὶ περικέρεται τὴν οὐσίαν. But there are other kinds and sources of wealth, as that of the philosopher Euphrates, my accuser; he holds his philosophical disputations at the tables of the money-changers, where he not only appears in the character of a philosopher, but as a merchant, a retailer, a publican, and a usurer; in short, he is all things to all, a seller and yet to be sold. He has nailed himself to the doors of the great, and spends more time in dangling after them than their porters; he is like the dog in the adage, ‘always hungry and always empty.’ He hoards all his wealth, and cultivates a malicious tongue, which, were it to have its deserts, would be cut out of his head. Malicious lying was heretofore a misdemeanor, but under a recent statute of the prosecutor is made perjury.

“But to you, O Emperor, I resign Euphrates; if you are not very much enamored of flatterers, you will find him much worse than I have described him.

“My accuser, O Emperor, has told you a melancholy tale of my cutting an Arcadian boy in pieces, and though he has told you, I know not yet whether he says it happened by night or in a dream. This boy,

he adds, was of a good family, and handsome, as Arcadians generally are, whose good looks are not affected by meanness of their attire. This youth I am accused of killing whilst in the act of supplicating me with tears for his life; and at the time when my hands were stained with his blood, I am accused of having implored the gods to reveal to me what was to come to pass. Thus far the accusation comes home to myself; what follows concerns the gods, for it is added that they heard my prayers, displayed favorable signs in the entrails, and put not to death the impious sacrificer. Why is it necessary for me, O Emperor, to speak of that which cannot be heard without a crime?

“And now as to the boy which I suspect is the product of the imagination of my accuser. Let us inquire who he is. For if he was not of an obscure family, and of no inelegant appearance, surely it is time to ask the name of his parents and family, and in what town in Arcadia he was educated, and from what penates he was dragged to be sacrificed? For, notwithstanding my accuser's ingenuity in the art of lying, he fails to fortify his falsehoods with corroborative testimony, of parents, or name, or nativity, or even to surround them with the halo of probability. But, may be, the boy was a slave for whom this great uproar is made, and for whom we have no name, no parentage, no city, no inheritance. Grant it, then we may fairly ask who sold him; and where is the record of the sale and the purchaser? For if an Arcadian's entrails are the fittest for illustrating the power of divination, it is probable that the boy sold for a good price. May be, a special messenger was dispatched to Peloponnesus to bring him to Rome. There

is no difficulty in buying Pontic, or Lydian, or Phrygian slaves, of whom you may sometimes meet whole droves on their way to Rome. But then in every sale the owner and purchaser must be entered; why has not that record been produced? But again, the Arcadians do not, like the people of Pontus, Lydia, and Phrygia, sell their slaves.

“But all this rhetoric is out of character in my defense, as out of character with me. It should be simply, ‘I have shed no blood in sacrificing; I shed no blood at any time and for no object. I touch no blood nor any altar sprinkled with it.’ This is what Pythagoras and his disciples, the gymnosophists of India and Egypt, have commanded and ordained, and I obey. They who perform their religious duty pursuant to their institutions do nothing displeasing to the gods; they grow old by means of moderate indulgence, and keep their minds and bodies in sound health and free from disease.

“I think it is not absurd to pray to the gods, who are themselves good, nor to make them pure offerings of frankincense. The gods have expressed themselves pleased with such offerings; then why resort to the sacrificing knife and the shedding of blood? And yet it has been charged that I, without respect to the gods or myself, have sacrificed in a manner not familiar to me, and in which I wish not to be followed by any mortal.

“But the time marked by my accuser will acquit me. For if, on the day in which he says I committed the crime, I was in the country, then will I confess having offered the sacrifice. And yet you, O Emperor, con-

tinue to repeat the question, whether I was not at that time in Rome? — a thing not denied. You were there likewise, most excellent Prince, and, I am sure, will not allow of having offered such a sacrifice. My accuser was there also, and he will never own to having committed murder. Multitudes of other people were there as well as we, whom it would be more preferable to send at once into banishment than to expose them to accusations, if being in Rome at the time specified is an evidence of guilt.

“What then, O accuser! did I do that night? Were I in your place, and you in mine, I would tell you in answer to that question, ‘I was laying indictments against the worthy, and snares for the innocent, and instilling lies into the mind of the emperor, for the purpose of my honor and his dishonor.’ But in my own proper person this is my answer, ‘Philicus of Melos, who studied philosophy with me for four years, was then very sick in his bed, and on that night I sat by him till he died. He was endeared to me above all other men. Of the truth of what I say, O Emperor, Telesinus, the consul, will inform you, who passed the same night that I did with Philicus in the most friendly attentions. I appeal also to the physician Seleucus of Cyzicus, who attended him, also to Stratocles of Sidon, from whom you will be able to learn the truth of what I say. Besides, the thirty disciples of Philicus will all testify the same. I would wish also to call as witnesses the relations of Philicus, but, in demanding this, you might charge me with an endeavor to put off judgment, for they have not yet returned from Melos, whither they have gone to pay the last sad duties to the deceased.”

(Here follow the depositions of the witnesses.)

"The testimony you have heard proves clearly how very consistent with truth the libel was laid, for it appears from the witnesses that I was not in the suburbs, but in the city; not outside the walls, but within them; not with Nerva, but with Philicus; not offering bloody sacrifices, but prayers for the recovery of my friend; not occupied in the business of state, but in that of philosophy; not planning insurrection against you, but intent on saving the life of a man like myself.

"What then becomes of the story of the Arcadian boy, what of the story of the victims and the credit which has been given them? For, supposing what is false to be adduced in a court of justice, instead of that which is true, in what way, I pray thee, O Emperor, should the absurdity of such a sacrifice be treated? In old times there were soothsayers, whose business was to inspect the exta of beasts; men versed in the art and of great celebrity, of whom Megistias,¹ the Acarnanian, Aristander,² the Lycian, and Silanus,³ the Ambracian, were the chief. The first was soothsayer to Leonidas, the king of Sparta; the second to Alexander of Macedon; and Silanus, the third, to Cyrus, at the time he was aspiring to the throne of his brother. If anything had been discovered by these men in the exta of human victims, more luminous, more profound, or more explicit than in those of others, they would have neither

¹ Megistias, a soothsayer, who told the Spartans that defended Thermopylae that they should all perish.

² Aristander, a celebrated soothsayer, greatly esteemed by Alexan-

der. It is said Alexander relied much on his veracity.

³ Silanus, an augur in the army of the ten thousand Greeks, at their return from Cynaxa.

scruples nor difficulty in procuring them ; for the kings by whom they were employed had plenty of cup-bearers and slaves at their disposal ; and they were men themselves of such character as would not have declined making use of human victims, through any fears either of danger or prosecution.

“ But I take it for granted, the same sentiments occurred to them as they do to me, who stand here arraigned for my life for similar offenses ; they thought that probably the exta of animals who lose their lives without having any prescience of death, or sense about what they are to suffer, undergo no change whatever. But who will believe that a man who has ever some fear of death, though not immediate, can, whilst the apprehension of death is present, and as it were before his eyes, give any intimation of futurity by his exta, and be a proper subject for a sacrifice ? To be convinced that my conjectures are right and consonant to the truth, I think, O Emperor, you should consider the matter in the following light. The liver, which the most skillful soothsayers affirm to be the tripod of divination, consists not of pure blood, for it is the heart which retains and circulates by the veins the pure blood through the whole body. The gall which is contained in the liver is put into motion by anger, and is confined by fear within the cavities of the liver. So that the gall, whenever it becomes to effervesce in men of warm passions, and is not able to be kept within its own proper vessels, diffuses into the liver, by which it occupies the whole left region of the entrails wherein is seated the foundation of the art of divination. When a man is under the influence of fear his liver contracts

and darkens the light in the left region. For then the purer part of the blood withdrawing itself, by means of which the liver is distended like the spleen, and sinking by a natural motion into the membrane inclosing the heart, swims upon the gross matter.

“Whence then, O Emperor! the necessity of human sacrifices, if they give no signs of futurity to be depended on? But man’s own nature is the true cause of its not giving such signs, he himself being under the fear of death. Brave men die with anger, cowards with fear. Hence this art of divination, with people not wholly savage, approves of the sacrificing of kids and lambs, because of their being harmless and not differing from creatures entirely devoid of sense. But cocks, and swine, and bulls, as being of a more generous nature, it considers unfit to be used in their sacred rites.

“I see, O Emperor! that my adversary is not pleased with my making you a more enlightened hearer than himself, nor with the attention you seem to pay to my defense. If in any point I have explained myself in a way not so satisfactory as I ought, I beg you may interrogate me respecting it.

“I have said what was necessary as an answer to the Egyptian. But since the calumnies of Euphrates are not to be passed over in silence, you will judge, O Emperor! which of us two philosophizes best. His object is to say everything false of me, and mine not to follow his example. He fears you as a slave fears his master, and I respect you as a subject should his sovereign. He puts a sword into your hand against me, but I do not arm you against him. He makes my conversations in Ionia the grounds of his charge against

me, which he says were uttered with an evil mind, and yet all I said there regarded fate and necessity. To illustrate my discourse by examples, I sought in the history of princes for such as were appropriate, because in human affairs your rank, O Emperor! is most conspicuous. I reasoned on the force of fate, and said, its decrees are so unchangeable, that if they decreed a kingdom to one man, which at the time of making the decree was possessed by another, and that if the reigning prince was even to put to death his appointed successor, to prevent his succeeding to the throne, I said the dead man would return to life to satisfy the decrees of fate.

“Men, you know, are sometimes accustomed to talk in figures and hyperboles to those who will not believe them when they talk in reason and moderation.

“It is as if I were to speak in the following language. He whom the Fates destine to be a carpenter, will be one though his hands were cut off. He whom they appoint to win at the Olympic games, will win even if his legs be broken; and he whom they have decreed to hit his mark, will do it though his eyes were put out. The examples which I adduced were taken from the history of kings, and those I had in view were Acrisius,¹ Laius, and Astyages the Mede,² and many others who thought they had taken the best precautions to secure themselves in their kingdoms. Of these princes, some by putting to death their sons, and others their grandsons, thought to give themselves security; and yet they

¹ Acrisius, the father of Danaë, and Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, whose stories are equally whose story is well known.

² Laius was the father of Œdipus, well known.

were all bereft of their kingdoms by those sons and grandsons, who rose out of darkness by the predominant power of fate.

“If I were inclined to flatter, O Emperor, I would say that your situation occurred strongly to me when you were besieged in this city by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt. Vitellius supposed everything would go well with him could he have prevented your escape from the capitol, though at that time you were young and far from what you are at present. But as the Fates decreed otherwise, he perished in the midst of his projects, and you now possess his throne. However, as the song of flattery is unpleasing to my ears, from its want of due cadence, I must break its string. Do not believe my thoughts have been engrossed by your affairs; I have spoken only of the ‘Fates and Necessity,’ which is what my accuser has alleged against me. As to the doctrine of necessity, most of the gods themselves do not object to it, and even Jupiter is not displeased at hearing it mentioned by the poets, who, when speaking of the affairs of Lycia, make him say :

‘The hour draws on, the destinies ordain
My godlike son shall press the Phrygian plain.’

Nor is he angry with the Fates when they deprive him of that son. And in other places the poets, when speaking of the abode of departed spirits, tell us that Jupiter appointed Minos, Sarpedon’s brother, whom he could not exempt from the laws of destiny, judge in the court of Pluto, and honored him with a golden scepter.

“Why then, O Emperor! are you displeased with this doctrine,—a doctrine tolerated by the gods themselves, whose condition is unchangeable, and who punish not with death the poets on account of it. We must obey the destinies; we must not repine at the changes and chances of life, and must give credit to Sophocles, who says, ‘The gods alone are exempt from old age and death,’ and ‘Time in the end is victorious over all things’; and in this he expresses himself better than was ever done by mortal. The fortune of men is variable, and their happiness only endureth for the period of a day. Neither he who has my estate, nor the man who has the estate of him who possesses mine, can be considered as the real possessors. Taking this into consideration, put a stop, O Emperor! I beseech you, to all banishments and shedding of blood. Use philosophy in everything you like, for true philosophy frees the mind from trouble. Wipe the tears from the eyes of men, whose multiplied groans resound from the sea, and yet more from the land, all and every one lamenting what they held most dear. The evils resulting from hence are more in number than can be counted, evils all to be ascribed to the tongues of informers, who make everything odious to you, and you, O Emperor! odious to every one.”

After finishing his speech, and while the emperor was engaged in settling a dispute between one of his cities and a certain subject on the matter of a will, Apollonius vanished from the court-room. This story of his disappearance from the tribunal is inexplicable upon any other theory than that the emperor did not desire to

either convict or acquit him, and that while he was otherwise engaged, it was hinted to Apollonius by Ælian his friend, that he was no longer wanted, and was at liberty to go where he pleased, this being a scheme to be effectually freed from him; and that he thereupon left the court-room. Some say miraculously; but there is no reason for such an assumption.¹ That the tyrant who had been for so many years the terror of Greek and barbarian had been but a plaything in the hands of Apollonius has much the appearance of truth. Accustomed to no language but that of servile adulation, Domitian had been completely subdued by the fearlessly spoken truths of Apollonius; for he behaved entirely different from what had been expected of him. Whether it was because he held the Tyanean in such supreme contempt that he failed to notice or refer to him after the trial, or that he had been humanized by his eloquence, can only be surmised from the sequel.

The terms of friendship heretofore existing between Domitian's father and brother so forcibly laid before him, the eloquent and logical method in which Apollonius consecutively disposed of the charges against him, it has been suggested, dazed the emperor, and, being ashamed to convict, he allowed him to be dismissed by one of the subordinates of the court rather than receive an acquittal at the hands of the emperor.

The same day Apollonius appeared to Damis and Demetrius at Puteoli (at least three days' journey from Rome), as they were conversing on the sea-shore, their

¹ The language, however, in the original is *ἡφανίσθη* — he quite vanished away. In another place it is *ἀπῆλθεν* — he went away.

hearts filled with sorrow,¹ and walked and conversed with them; but they knew him not, and when he discovered himself to them, he stretched out his hand, asked them to accept it and examine it, and determine whether he was merely an apparition or a reality, "for," said he, "if I bear being touched you must be persuaded that I am alive, and that to reach here I made use of neither the ram of Phryxus or the wings of Dædalus." He then recounted to them minutely the story of his defense, that they might relate every circumstance to Telesinus, who never ceased making inquiries. When he had ended his account of the trial, and recited his summing up, not omitting one word, he retired to the house where Demetrius lodged, washed his feet, gave orders for refreshments for his companions, of which they seemed to want, and threw himself on the bed, repeated some verses of Homer and went to rest, as if the present state of affairs required no solicitude whatever.

Early in the morning he informed his companions that he intended sailing for Greece; and finding a ship ready to sail, they took leave of Demetrius and embarked for Sicily,—Syracuse,—and afterward sailed for Peloponnesus, where they arrived in the beginning of autumn, A. D. 95. Apollonius repaired at once to

¹ While two of his disciples (Christ's) journeyed to Emmaus (which is from Jerusalem about three-score furlongs), on the day of resurrection, Jesus overtook them on the way, but they did not know him. He conversed with them, and they perceived that he had the "key to all knowledge," and could open all its treasure-houses; and at last when he discovered himself to them he vanished out of their sight. On another appearance he begged them to examine his hands and feet, etc., and determine if he were really a ghost.

Olympia, and discoursed continually to the people, explaining a great variety of matters with great wisdom. He staid forty days at Olympia, in the temple of Jupiter, then went into Lebadæa to converse with Trophonius, the son of Apollo, whose temple and cave were there. He visited the cave without the permission of the priests of the temple (they having refused it);¹ and the god was so much pleased with the interview, that he appeared in person to the priests, and reprimanded them for their treatment of him. Various rumors now spread concerning Apollonius, some saying that he had been burnt alive, others that he had been tortured with little hooks, others again that he had been cast into a deep pit or drowned in a well. But as soon as his arrival was fully ascertained, all Greece flocked to see him with more eagerness than they ever did to the Olympic games. People came from Elis and Sparta and from Corinth; Bæotians and Argives and many persons of note from Phocis and Thessaly. And as he wished to avoid all vain boasting, to the questions put to him concerning his trial, he said only, "I pleaded my cause and came off safe."

Damis seeing that there was but little money for further pursuing their travels told Apollonius of it, who immediately replied, "I will remedy it to-morrow." Next day he made application to the treasury of Jupiter for a loan of one thousand drachmas, which the priests immediately gave him, expressing the belief that the god was highly pleased with making this loan.²

¹ Larcher's *Notes on Herodotus*, vol. ii. c. viii. 140

² There was a department belonging to the pagan temples termed in

Greek *αρχαῖον*, by some translated *summun templum*, which was a repository or treasury both for the service of the church and others

He now sailed into Ionia with his whole company, now called Apollonians, or followers of Apollonius. He discoursed the most part of his time in Smyrna and Ephesus, without, however, overlooking the smaller towns; there was not one in which he was not well received. After the death of Domitian, which he foretold, he was invited by Nerva to visit Rome; this he declined doing; he also prophesied the early death of Nerva.¹ Domitian was murdered by his wife Domitia, in A. D. 96, and thus perished the last of the twelve Cæsars. He was succeeded by Nerva, and this began "the reign of the stoics," the most glorious that Rome has ever experienced, notwithstanding Renan's cowardly assault upon it. During this short reign, however, began a general literary activity. Tacitus, who had barely escaped the tyrannous caprice of Domitian, is preparing his "Annals of the Roman Empire";² Plutarch, no less fortunate, is reading lectures at Rome on the Lives of Eminent Men; Quintilian, delivering discourses on rhetoric; Juvenal, composing satires on the corruption of Roman manners; Epictetus, dissertation on stoic philosophy; and Josephus, writing a history of his own life.

Nerva was succeeded by Trajan, A. D. 98;³ Adrian,

who desired to secure money, as was done by Xenophon, who committed his treasures to the custody of the priests of Diana of Ephesus; hence those epithets as given it by Pollux.—*Archæologia Græca*, vol. i. p. 225.

¹ *Satires* of Decimus; *Junius Juvenalis* (W. Gifford).

² Many of the follies and cruelties of Domitian have been preserved

as monuments of his infamy in the coins issued during his reign.— See *Histoire des Empereurs romains depuis Jules César jusqu'à Postumus, avec toutes les médailles d'argent*, etc. (J. B. Haultin, Paris, 1645).

³ The noblest act in the life of Nerva was in passing over all his own relations and personal friends, and naming Trajan as his successor,

A. D. 117; Antoninus Pius, A. D. 138; Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 161; Commodus, A. D. 180—all stoics under whom Rome was prosperous and happy.¹ Soon after this, A. D. 98, Apollonius died, probably at Ephesus; some say that he entered the temple of Minerva at Lindus (Rhodes) and then disappeared, others say he died at Crete.

The followers of Apollonius, or Apollonians, became scattered; he continued to be worshiped, however, until the fifth century. A temple was erected to him at Tyana. There was a vast amount of literature, the product of the Apollonian period, more probably than was ever produced before during a like period by the like number of persons. All that we know about it is, that it once existed and was destroyed during the subsequent ages.

Apollonius was a man of extensive reading, as his familiarity with Plato, Pythagoras, Livy, and Horace testifies, indicated by his frequent quotations; but his favorite author was Homer, and his philosophy the dialectic stoicism of Zeno.² The life of Apollonius may be

the very man most needed in that exigency. And as he mounted the throne he gave to the captain of the guards the dagger, the symbol of the office, with these words, "Take this and use it; if I rule justly, for me; if otherwise, against me."

¹ *The Reign of the Stoics* (F. M. Holland), p. 13, *et seq.*

² How much the ethics of stoicism, as known in later times, was due to Zeno, the great master and founder of Greek stoicism, we do

not know.—See *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics* (E. Zeller, London, 1870). He came to Athens from Cyprus after the conquest of Alexander, and established his school in the pœcile stoa; he was a faithful and worthy successor of Socrates and Stilpo.—*Reign of the Stoics* (Holland, 1879). "The true philosopher," said Zeno, "is ever ready to serve the state."—Zeno in *Seneca's Dialogues*. He also declared "that he did not contend for his

summed up entirely from the testimony of dissenting witnesses, as follows: He was exposed to the attacks of enemies although he was engaged in doing good. He went about from place to place while carrying out his work of reform, accompanied by his favorite disciples; and when the hour of danger came, like Jesus, against the advice of friends, he went straight to Rome as Jesus

own liberty—not himself to live free, but to live among freemen.”—John Stuart Mill on Liberty, 1874; Cato on *Seneca's Epistles*. “I am human,” said he, “therefore, no man is a stranger.” *Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

The great idea of stoicism, and to which it subordinated all things, was love for humanity; and no philosophy ever existed in which the practice of its disciples was more consistent with their creed. They held no esoteric views, they taught publicly; and all without restriction, who took upon themselves the stoic name and simple life, were regarded as fellows. Stoicism accepted, but declared God and immortality undemonstrable assumptions. And it stripped morality of all divine sanction.—*Religions before Christ* (Pressensé). Promulgating such sentiments, we can understand how Apollonius, three hundred years removed from Zeno, persisted in refusing all participation in public affairs, and yet sought with a zeal, which scoffed even martyrdom, to cement those principles of humanity into a republican form of government. The result of the labors of

the *porch* is recorded in the acts of the rulers of Rome from Nerva to Commodus, all of whom were stoics. But the empire of this mild and humane philosophy was doomed to ruin by the sanguinary Constantine, who, with sword in one hand and the gospel in the other, declared himself commissioned by heaven to conquer and evangelize the world.—*Ecclesiastical History* (Eusebius). Stoicism gave way before the powers of the church militant. And then began the reign of saints, a reign of physical terror and of mental darkness. But the stoic philosophy did not perish. In the thirteenth century it again began to take root and assert itself.—*Natural History of Atheism* (Blackie, 1878). Christianity relaxed its intolerance under the demands of advancing science and free-thought. The surviving individualism of Zeno and Socrates was now silently but certainly pressing the claims of the philosophy of humanity into the very ranks of Christianity, the forces of which were decimated in exact ratio to the dissemination of light and knowledge.—*Conflict between Religion and Science* (Draper). Christendom is just now

did to Jerusalem,¹ although Apollonius had no hankering for martyrdom. He was accused before Nero as Jesus is said to have been before Herod. He wrought miracles of mercy, for which he was accused. He spoke to evil spirits with authority as Jesus did, and they departed out of their victims. In one case a herd of swine, in another a statue falls overthrown by the violence of the evil spirit. In Rome Apollonius restores a young girl of noble birth to life, precisely similar to the return to life of the daughter of Jairus. The lame, the blind, and the halt came in crowds to be healed. He appeared after his resurrection to Damis and Deme-

becoming to realize the fallacy of "pastoral budgets," "papal bulls," and the efficacy of a crucified Christ, and that the scheme laid down for us by the great philosopher of Nazareth is too narrow upon which to found a grand republic of humanity. —*The Religious Sentiment* (Brinton). Two hundred years ago Charles Blount commenced the translation and publication of the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*; the religious sentiment of that day was inimical to it, and it was prohibited and anathematized. Have two hundred years wrought any change in the religious sentiment of our race? Has that gentle spirit of forbearance and mercy, which characterizes the stoic philosophy of Zeno, made any impress upon our day? Blackie (*Natural History of Atheism*) thinks it has. Louis Jaccoliot (*La Bible dans l'Inde*) thinks that the infusion of liberal notions into the religious sects of our day is a movement strongly impregnated

with the "philosophy of stoicism." To which a liberated universe responds—"Amen."—*Revelations of Antichrist*.

¹ At Rome Apollonius declined all publicity and also to make any blood sacrifice in the temple. But Jesus, on entering Jerusalem, went immediately to the temple, and as he passed through the crowd, some one saluted him, "Hail, King of the Jews!" at which he became tumultuous, and asserted his kingly and godlike authority by calling the merchants (who were selling bulls, sheep, and doves for blood sacrifices under Levitical law) thieves (a den of thieves), and made a scourge of small cords and drove them out of the temple, and kicked over the tables of the money-changers, and assumed a kingly attitude generally after the Roman formula. He declared that he would destroy the temple and "build it up in three days," which he did not do.

trius. All these are points of resemblance which can neither be accidental nor imaginary, say a host of writers.¹ That Apollonius was a great and good man can hardly be questioned; the tribute paid him by Titus, Vespasian, and Aurelius is a guarantee. Even among those of the present day most willing to detract from his character many are forced to admit that a certain pure and true morality pervades the whole of his system of teaching. There is a well-established theory in it, that virtue and true piety is the only foundation of happiness. Apollonius was chaste and temperate; he was actuated by a noble desire to know, and the still nobler desire to communicate his knowledge to mankind. He was ingenuous, learned, and, generally speaking, there is something lively and original in his language.² No man ever lived who more utterly rejected all vulgar artifices for producing effect upon other men; no majestic pomp of words characterized his teachings. And he was ready at all times and in all places to impart good instruction; and from all the testimony of him no man was more emphatically an apostle of peace.³ It is difficult, indeed, to overcome the common-sense conclusion, that Apollonius, whom Philostratus has placed

¹ Nor do we believe them accidental or imaginary; they are the same old familiar frauds handed down from all time, and are the common property of all miracle-mongers.

² Rev. Albert Réville's *Pagan Christ*, pp. 50, 51.

³ "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth," said Jesus, "I came not to send peace but a

sword." Diabolical as the avowed purpose of Jesus' mission is, it has been fulfilled to the letter. Never did a man utter words so brimful of truth — melancholy as it is. Never was a prediction, whose disastrous fulfillment has unfortunately lasted without intermission from the time of its promulgation to the present. From the very establishment of this religion of Jesus the sword has

before us, is a real man, a corporeity, and not a spirit; he walks the earth, eats, drinks, and sleeps like other men, loves and hates as experience teaches us is natural for man. He is an observer of natural phenomena, compares and speculates, adores nature, birds, animals, trees, flowers, not destitute of humor although of great gravity and dignity. Everywhere in nature and art, with the Brahmins of India, the gymnosophists and the pyramids of Egypt, he found something to admire. And yet there are miracles mixed up with his history, but they are only incidental; they by no means constitute the aggregate of his life. Unfortunately, says the *Westminster Review*, April, 1860, Apollonius of Tyana has been so disguised by later fiction, that it is now nearly impossible to separate the true from the false in the doctrines and noble acts ascribed to him. But he looms up as the last great asserter of the creed of Æschylus, the most formidable antagonist of the new faith said to have been preached by Paul of Tarsus.

Here ends our summary of the leading events in the life of Apollonius, selected from the writings and manuscripts as they have descended to our day, and upon which solely rests his claim as a historical character. We believe the sources of our information are

remained unsheathed in its service, and more victims have been sacrificed to its manes than to all other causes combined. Lest he should be misunderstood concerning his mission, Jesus reiterates that he came to send *fire* on earth, and *strife*, to make divided households, fathers against sons, mothers against daughters, and that under the new

régime "a man's foes shall be those of his own household." Bolingbroke says, "The scene of Christianity has always been a scene of dissension, of hatred, of persecution, and of blood." Erasmus says, "Sanguine fundata est ecclesia, sanguine crevit, sanguine succrevit, sanguine erit."—*Familiar Colloquies of Erasmus*, by Bailey (1877).

untainted, the witnesses unimpeached, and the channel through which the narrative has descended to us has never been questioned. The historians are men of character, and not without literary fame. He had traveled more extensively than any man of his day, and that he was a man of no mean account is evident from his letters addressed to kings, rulers, philosophers, societies, and the first men of his time, still extant, preserved in the works of Philostratus and Cujacius.

For many centuries after his death a halo of sanctity was thrown around his head, and he was worshiped as a god in many parts of the world.¹ As late as the fifth century we know of one Volusian, a pro-consul of Africa, descended from an old Roman family, still strongly attached to the religion of his ancestors, almost worshiping Apollonius as a supernatural being.

Not only did Caracalla build him a temple, but Alexander Severus held him in such esteem that he had his statue in his private closet.² On account and out of respect to Apollonius, Tyana was regarded a sacred city, and exempted from the jurisdiction of governors sent from Rome.³ Pierre Bayle, in *Diction-*

¹ *History of the Christian Religion to the Year Two Hundred* (Charles B. Waite, A. M., 1881).

² Sévère ne fut pas le seul empereur qui rendit au sage de Tyane des honneurs divins.—Cf. *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane*, par Legrand D'Aussy, vol. ii. p. 286.

³ The great body of Christians believe that paganism was immediately displaced by the religion of Christ. But it must be remembered

that for hundreds of years after Christianity mounted the imperial throne under Constantine (the most arbitrary that ever existed), sacrifices were still made to the gods in many of the temples of Greece, at some of which Christian priests presided; and to a great extent the pagan temples and gods were supplemented only by utilizing them for Christian worship, and this accomplished by imperial decrees. So

naire historique et critique (2 vols., folio, 1696), remarks that Apollonius was worshiped in the beginning of the fourth century under the name of Hercules, and refers for his authority to Vopiscus, Eusebius, and Marcellinus.¹

Albert Réville says, "the universal respect in which he was held by the whole pagan world testified to the deep impression which the life of this supernatural being had indelibly fixed in their minds."²

much does the Christian revolution lack in that spirit of progress in early times upon which ministers delight to dwell, that nothing could force it forward but executions and decrees. It went into the conflict like a conscript forced to the front at the point of the bayonet, and all the importance and vitality of Christianity of the early ages which have been given to it by modern writers, never existed in reality. The most observing man was as unconscious that a great religious revolution was taking place around him at that period, as the most stupid is

that such a revolution is taking place about him to-day.—Cf. *Julian apud Cyrill*, lib. iii.; *Lactantii Institut.* lib. iii.; Eusebius, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. iii. iv.; *The Prophet of Nazareth, a Critical Inquiry*, by Evan P. Meredith, p. 220, *et seq.*

¹ Ælius Lamprosius, A. D. 350 (author *Commodus*, *Diadumenus*, *Heliogabalus*, and *Alexander Severus*), states that Christ was worshiped together with the Arabian Orpheus and Apollonius, these all being looked upon as tutelary genii.

² *Pagan Christ.*

THE END.

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A sketch of the life of Apollo



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